THE

EARLY CALIPHATE

SEQUEL

TO

SOME GLIMPSES

INTO

LIFE

IN THE

FAR EAST.

BY J. T. THOMSON, F.R.G.S.

AUTHOR OF "SOME GLIMPSES INTO LIFE IN THE FAR EAST."

11592

LONDON:

RICHARDSON & COMPANY, 23, CORNHILL.

1865.

[*The right of Translation is reserved.*]

915
T483s.



20306
BLND—0104

SEQUEL

TO

LIFE IN THE FAR EAST.

LONDON: PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET
AND CHARING CROSS.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	The Anglo-Indian Alligator and the Anglo-Saxon Flies	1
II.	The Aboriginal Mind	34
III.	The Malay Amok	48
IV.	Slavery	58
V.	Polygamy	65
VI.	Mahomedan Proselytism	75
VII.	Christian Missionaries	141
VIII.	The Civil Service	217
IX.	The Uncovenanted	224
X.	Malay Governments 400 Years Ago ..	236
XI.	Native Governments at this Present Time ..	248
XII.	The Mystery	263
XIII.	The Anglo-Indian Connection	290
XIV.	Service Reform	306

PREFACE.

In my Preface to "Glimpses into Life in the Far East," I stated that if that work should be deemed worthy of public attention, I would bring out a second volume. Months went past, and I was held in suspense. The booksellers objected to place an anonymous book upon their shelves, and I could not find fault with their hesitation; for I felt that a work without the guarantee of a name could, at the outset of its existence, command but small claims to confidence. At the same time my anticipations of financial success were moderate: I was content to obtain a few hundred readers; and my ambition was that my readers should peruse the work with attention, and carefully consider the various subjects on which it treated.

In many of the sketches contained in my first volume, it was my lot to act as censor. I therefore felt that I had no right to expect tenderness from such critics as might honour my book with their notice. The sketches, I must confess, had more

attention given them by several of the metropolitan magazines than I had ventured to anticipate, and the bias being decidedly against me, I have no reason to complain of their acute dissections. Amongst the hundred and more new works that at the same time passed under the review of those leviathan dictators of the literary world, mine appears to have had impartial justice meted out to it. No patent chaff-cutting machines could be more equal in their operations in mincing literary fodder into inches.

My critics have very generally pointed out my carelessness of style. To this I would reply, that the sketches in my first volume pretended only to be rough daubs, taken from nature. A professional portrayer of character or events would, no doubt, have been more tasteful, at some sacrifice of truth.* One authoritative critic complains of the shortness of my chapters. To this I would reply, that I am glad he did not feel them to be too long. I must confess that I had much more to say on many subjects; but, under the circumstances, I considered brevity to be desirable: I felt that an anonymous writer ought not, by his prolixity, to trespass on the patience of his good-natured readers. On subjects of delicacy, I etched with all the boldness that I dared; but, in many cases, I had to forbear,

* I must here ask the Oriental scholar to forgive errors in the native quotations, as I was not in a position to correct the press in the former volume, nor am I able to do so in the present.

as the genius and refinements of modern English taste forbade me to pursue such subjects to their end.

In issuing this "Sequel to Life in the Far East," I have been encouraged by partial friends who have perused the manuscript, and I have not been discouraged by the criticisms of the London Press on my first volume. My learned censors have in no case given tokens of impatience, and some show evidence of having perused my chapters attentively. I trust that my critics of the first volume will now look upon me as having "*paid my footing*," and will deign to treat me with less distrust. In these days, when almost every man and woman writes either a book or a pamphlet at least once in his or her lifetime, it would seem to be a superfluous task for an anonymous author to drop his copper mite amidst the golden talents; but I have an apology for the intrusion: I have seen a good deal of life, in all its phases, in many parts of the world. It is true that literature has not been my profession (as my critics readily perceived), but my experiences have been varied. After leaving my native country (England), I sojourned for many years in South-eastern Asia, and since then I have visited many parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, and the British temperate colonies, in which peregrinations I have mingled with all classes of society, under circumstances most varied. The experiences thus gained formed vivid contrasts in the path of life, and have

naturally led me, in my moments of repose, to ruminate over past events, and to recall my observations on man as he develops himself under the ever-changing influences of climate, and of varying social conditions.

Meadows tells us, that before he wrote his work on China, he climbed to the tops of the pyramid of Cheops, from whence he scanned all Egypt. When meditating over past scenes, I have imagined myself looking at them, as Meadows scanned the Delta, from the far distance. Though separated for many years from East India, I feel bound to it by the strong ties of early associations; and in this volume it has been my endeavour to give a simple exposition of my views on several topics connected with the social and political systems there.

The gentle reader must not think that I flatter myself on having seen much life. To see life, it is not necessary to leave England. The inner core of society is best studied there. There humanity is seen in perfection,—there its structure is most delicately elaborated,—its nerves are most sensitive,—its powers most extensive,—its aspirations most noble—its fall most sordid,—its misfortunes most harrowing. The savage or half-civilized man is more obtuse—more blunt in all things: his nerves are not so delicately strung. The phases of life in him do not present such vivid contrasts; but there is one thing the observer may gain by travel, and that is, freedom from narrow prejudice—more just views

regarding men of other races, and more especially in regard to races under the tropics. He will more readily perceive the causes which maintain principles in social polity at variance with his own. He will see that nature delights in variety,—that the condition of the world and its races of men continually vary, and with these the political circumstances vary, and demand constant watchfulness. The untiring energy of the Englishman at home leads him to attempt the task of moulding all races under his dominion in his own model: the travelled Englishman perceives that nature opposes this consummation. History tells us that whenever princes have doggedly determined to mould their subjects to an unvarying system of government or religious persuasion, destruction has come upon them. All communities of interest, whether tribal or national, are held together by mutual concessions, ever varying in circumstances and directions. Rulers, therefore, must study the signs of the times.

There have been numerous writers on the Far East, from Marco Polo and Sir John de Mandeville downwards, but I need here only mention some of the modern writers. I have always considered Captain Forrest to be the father of Far Eastern historic voyagers. He was another Dampier. His numerous expeditions, and erratic enterprises, vied in boldness and equalled in adventure the more extensive wanderings of the illustrious buccanier.

Marsden, the Malay grammarian, has given

much interesting matter in his "History of Sumatra." His descriptions of the social system of the Malays on the West Coast of that Island afford many subjects deserving of thoughtful consideration. His minute details of the different modes of marriage and concubinage which exist there, one would have thought should have served as a beacon to warn the papas and mammas of old England against consigning their "Young Hopefuls" to influences in the Far East so contrary to their own moral principles.

Sir Stamford Raffles has attained celebrity even in Europe. In the Far East he was better known as a compiler and absorber of the labours of others. His knowledge of native literature was superficial, but he made himself useful to the savans of England by his collections of curiosities—animal, vegetable, and mineral. The selection of Singapore as a trading port has been attributed to him, though the credit was also claimed by a distinguished officer of the Company's service, viz., Colonel Farquhar. When Governor of Java, his ultra-liberalism led him indiscreetly to alter the ancient system of landed tenures, which involved his government in financial difficulties, and for many succeeding years caused undue pressure on his successors—the Dutch government of Netherlands India.

Crawfurd, a contemporary of Raffles—a living record of the past—will always hold a distinguished position, whether as a historian, lexicographer, or

ethnologist — honest, dogmatical, laborious, acute, and searching. The numerous writings of this great man will long illustrate many important branches of knowledge in the Far East. It is dangerous to oppose the judgment of such a man; yet, on a very material point I am constrained to differ from him. Crawfurd, like most covenanted servants of the late East India Company, dilated much on the "intemperance," "avarice," "rapacity," "violence," and "injustice" of Europeans in India,—these Europeans in India being no other than his own countrymen. Forty years ago it was considered to be true policy on the part of the monopolizing East India Company to vilify their countrymen, and exclude them. This subject is so closely connected with my present theme, that, in mentioning Crawfurd, I could not avoid noticing it. During my long residence in the East, I observed many and long-continued examples of the above artificial prejudices, practically carried out. The dissolution of the East India Company, and the more close connection that is now maintained by steam between England and India, have, no doubt, during these last six years, worked wonders in breaking the unholy fetters riveted by the scions of a bygone monopoly.

Of other writers, such as Earle, Newbold, Begbie, Davidson, Anderson, Keppel, Brooke, Macmeikan, &c., I need not say anything further than that each has furnished a good quota of information regard-

ing their times; but it would be an unpardonable oversight were I not to pay a passing tribute, insufficient as it may be, to the unwearied labours of Mr. J. R. Logan, whose writings on various scientific subjects are widely known; and I hope that time, health, and opportunity will be vouchsafed to him to bring before the world the results of his long-continued and extensive inquiries into the ethnology and philology of mankind in Asia and Polynesia.

In this present volume I have little of incident to relate: my attention has been confined to short essays, and translations, on social topics. In handling the different subjects, my endeavour has been to scan them with a bird's-eye view. I can never be connected with India again, so I hope my views and opinions will appear to be disinterested. I have endeavoured to treat my topics fearlessly; and though the details be incomplete, the whole effect of the picture will, I trust, be allowed to be true.

Regarding the fourth and fifth chapters of this volume, viz., "Slavery" and "Polygamy," there never will be a concurrence of sentiment amongst mankind. More than 2,000 years ago the Grecian philosopher Socrates had demonstrated that "*All things are produced contraries from contraries.*"* Human sentiment (*cæteris paribus*) will fluctuate between these two extremes. In the material world, heat is the

* See "Phædo, 42, Plato's Works."

contrary of cold—height is the contrary of depth. In the mental world, pride is the contrary of humility—in the moral world, virtue is the contrary of depravity; and between these contraries there will be constant vacillation, constant reciprocation, the one giving off its properties to the other: constant alteration, as the vapours ascend to the clouds but to return to the earth again. On mankind the temperate zones induce energy — the torrid zone, apathy. The former is the "habitat" of the white man; the latter that of the black man. In the middle distance there is constant tendency to mingle; but remove either to his opposite, and he dies out: for a generation or two only can either be propagated out of his contrary zone. Between these extremes, however, there are constant attractions as powerful as between the poles of a galvanic battery; attractions induced not alone by the differences of climate, products, and commodities, but by the differences of social condition—boldness and its contrary, timidity—strength and its contrary, weakness. These opposing influences cause men to intermingle from equator to pole—conquering here—being conquered there. The bolder of the north overcoming the weaker of the south—conquering but for a period—mingling but to imbibe the surrounding weakening influences—or to die out.

In the temperate zones virtue has a meaning—in the torrid, it has none. It is not known. The virtue of the Romans, even, was not the virtue of

the Britons. Freedom and virtue go together; they are bound hand to hand by bonds the most powerful; so, also, slavery and the degradation of women go together. Opposite principles are indigenous to opposite zones. Any radical change of principle can only be partial. The pure Englishwoman in India, by the force of her character, maintains her privileges for one generation, it may be for two generations; but her descendants at length give way, and acquiesce in the habits of those who surround them.

England now acts as if she had never been a slaveholder, yet it is only thirty-six years ago that I, with thousands of others, signed a petition to the British Parliament that she should abolish slavery within her wide dominions * * * * will this be for ever? Or will her close relations with her tropical possessions change first her interests, and then her sentiments? Or will the modern agencies of steam and a free press cause her to rise superior to those influences which have hitherto governed the world? If there be danger, is it not better that she should loosen the chains? What has made Burton, the great African traveller, an advocate of polygamy?* Is it that his long residence amongst tropical influences has undermined the virtue of the original indomitable Briton?

Slavery and polygamy are so intimately con-

* See "Jour. Geographical Society, 1863."

nected, that, in treating of them, they cannot be disjoined. They are necessary to each other.

Some of the material and physiological conditions which propagate and maintain these institutions, and their contraries, may be put down as follows:—

Slavery and Polygamy.	*Freedom and Monogamy.*
Enervating climates,	Bracing climates,
Rich oases,	Wide plains,
Ignorance,	Knowledge,
Weakness.	Strength.
RESULTS,—	
Decay.	Conservation.

Men in opposite zones accept opposite conditions, and each supports the view he was born to by arguments not convincing to the other. Man goes to war in the middle distance to support opposite principles.

In the sixth and seventh subjects, viz., "Mahomedan Proselytism" and "Christian Missionaries," I have endeavoured to provide illustrations of the contraries in religion. It will be seen, by reference to any physical atlas, that the stronghold of the polygamic Mahomedan faith is in the hottest region of the world, viz., the Red Sea—its capital being Mecca—and the stronghold of the monogamic Christain faith, it will be admitted, is in the most temperate region of the world, viz., North-western Europe. Between these two contraries there has been constant warfare of sentiment in the middle distance. The different faiths uphold opposite

practices genial to their climates. The Mahomedan accepts the position of woman as a degraded one; the Christian upholds her in an honourable equality. The Mahomedan avoids stimulating liquors, injurious in his climate; the Christian partakes of them as useful in his. The Mahomedan avoids the flesh of certain of the grosser animals; the Christian partakes of it with advantage. These contrarieties maintain a mutual misunderstanding, and the opponent faiths meet, but to war and to overturn—to mingle, or to die out. The Christian, settling beyond the boundaries of his natural "habitat," deteriorates in the pure principles and practices of his peculiar region. In Abyssinia and Mexico his practices cling to those of the contrary faith—his moral condition becomes tropical. Pure Christianity, in the English sense of the term, has withered there. Christianity, more or less pure, had, a thousand years ago, penetrated all over Asia, and much of Africa, but only to die out or deteriorate. Christianity has never been the same in all regions; persuasions differ even at home; they differ still more abroad, till the similarity is no longer recognizable. The highest development of Christianity is only attainable by a few. Man is but the mirror of the Creator. As he is pure, so does he reflect this image unimpaired—as he is filthy, so is the reflection deadened and distorted. Then it may be asked, Why attempt to propagate a system which experience shows cannot be maintained pure in all regions for

ever? To this I would reply, Why do men take fire to the Arctic regions? Is it not to warm their shivering limbs? And why do men take ice to the tropics? Is it not to cool their fevered lips? We may as well abandon the lights on a stormy rock-bound coast because the oil requires replenishing. As well abandon any good work, because labourers in it must be constant, as abandon the carrying of English Christianity to all regions. "All things are produced contraries from contraries," and when this law of nature ceases, then will the Christian's mission have ended—then will there be no longer the war of the elements, the struggle of opponent faiths and practices. The mission of the Christian is a great one; it has taught the savage cannibal Maori to cry out in the heat of deadly warfare, "If I conquer, I will treat the prisoners kindly—the dead with respect." The mission of the Christian is more onerous than I dare to contemplate; for his personal influence is everywhere necessary—he must never be absent.

The translations from native authors I trust that the reader will find interesting, and that he will not fail to detect singular differences in them. The writings of the Mahomedan Apostle of Keddah are genuine and characteristic. They lay bare the religious polity of the Moslem, and, at the same time, the besetting sins and weaknesses of the children of passion, amongst whom he labours. In his writings we perceive the Mahomedan apostle, rude as the un-

cultivated thistle—bold as the stump-orator of the Far West. His faith, like the quill of the porcupine, pierces or is crushed. It is like the wild waste thorn, it opposes till trodden down under the feet.

The Arab missionary, in depicting the besetting sins of the natives of the Far East, especially dilates on *hawa nafsu* (sensuality). He would level this mountain, but he labours without hope. In his forcible pictures of the crime and immorality of the people, he indignantly assails "beauty." He cries, "this comes of beauty!" And why should beauty have this stigma cast upon it? a Western reader might ask,—Does it not embellish the virtues of the possessor, as the flower decorates the graceful stalk? The answer may be given, that beauty in the tropics has not the high functions which it exercises amidst the family circles of the temperate zone; it ministers but to lascivious desires; it is hidden from sight with the jealousy of an ill-gotten treasure; it is sold only to stimulate the surfeited appetites of the wealthy. It is not permitted to illuminate the outward world; for it would fire the hearts of the *slaves of God.* Hence the stigma cast on beauty by the Mahomedan missionary.

In the writings of the Indo-Malay, Abdulla, the observant reader will readily perceive the influence of the English missionary. His book, though written in Malay, was intended for the European reader, whose higher morality, intelligence, and power, Abdulla had learnt to respect. Although

he lived and died a Mahomedan, he was held in bad odour by his co-religionists; and his open condemnation of the depravity of native rulers would have rendered his life insecure beyond the protection of the British crown. His lamentations on the fallen condition of his countrymen are touching, and his hopes for their elevation are nil.

While considering these translations, I would desire to say a few words regarding a remarkable revolution now going on in China; and, for this purpose I have extracted, in as succinct a manner as I am able, the necessary information from the work of Mr. Meadows, published in 1856. That author informs us that Hung-seu-tseuen, the originator and acknowledged chief of the present religious political insurrection in China, is the youngest son of a poor peasant proprietor (he may yet be living as far as I know). His friends established him as a village schoolmaster, with the view of his pursuing literary studies, so as to prepare him for the public examinations. In this object of his and his friends' ambition, however, he was never successful, as he could not pass the decisive examination conducted by the provincial examiner. On one of his visits to Canton, in the year 1833, he met a native Protestant convert and preacher, named Leang-a-fah, from whom he received a collection of tracts, which consisted of essays and extracts from the Bible. Hung-seu-tseuen took these home with him, glanced them over, and put them into his book-case. In 1837 he

was again unsuccessful in his endeavour to pass the required examinations, so he was deeply disappointed and fell sick. During a long-continued sickness he had a succession of dreams and visions. The details of these I need not extract further than to state that in one of them he saw a man whom he called his elder brother, and from whom he obtained instructions to search to the uttermost regions for evil spirits, and to exterminate them.

He got well again, and, in the year 1843, he fell in with some further Christian tracts, the former having been forgotten. These corresponded in a remarkable manner with what he saw and heard in his dreams and visions (no doubt the impress of the former tracts of Leang-a-fah on the memory). The demons were the idols of his country, the brothers and sisters were the people of the world. He now rejoiced that he had found a way to heaven, and a sure hope of eternity and happiness. He and a friend named Le baptized each other, in the manner in which they were taught by the Christian tracts: they then commenced to preach.

Hung-seu-tseuen, seeing that the Christian tracts corresponded in a striking manner with his former visions, was confirmed in their truth, and concluded that to himself was given the work of restoring the worship of the True God. In the chapters taken from the psalmists and prophets, descriptions of the grandeur and might of a One True God were to him sublimity of ideas of which nothing whatsoever

is found in the writings of the Chinese sage Confucius. He was enraptured with the newly-found knowledge and doctrines. In 1846 he applied to a Protestant missionary for baptism, but was refused the rite; so, again disappointed, he left, and taught his own converts how to baptize themselves. At length his own preachings took effect: his congregations increased—were persecuted—gained further strength—and assumed the position of political revolutionists. The movement, thus begun, assumed such importance as to shake the throne of a prince ruling over 360 millions of people. Mr. Meadows further informs us that he has often been asked, Are the followers of Hung-seu-tseuen, now called Taepings, Christians or not? He (I presume being a Scotchman) replied by another question: What kind of Christian? Romanist? Lutheran? Nestorian? Calvinist? Armenian? Abyssinian? Coptic? or Greek?

Here I may leave Mr. Meadows. It is evident that Christianity, to be universal, must have many phases, and Oxford divines, to preserve their church, need not split hairs. Hung-seu-tseuen's Christianity took that phase which climate and constitution of body and mind prescribed. It had not the light and influence of the white man to guide it, so it ran to seed. It did not teach him to exalt the companion of man above the position of a mere minister to his passions. His followers ran loose into rapine, wholesale indiscriminate slaughter, and cold-blooded ferocity.

Now let us return to my subject—British India, and let us pursue the train of thought suggested by the above translations and extracts, and then let us ask by what means can English Christianity be best introduced amongst 150 millions of subjects of the British Crown? By the spread of the "Book" only? Or by the English missionary in person? I think no answer can come more clearly home to the mind. For the elevation of the native, for the introduction of a pure religion and morality, the white man's *presence* is necessary; and so long as England can afford the drain on her blood, so long will the population of India draw health and virtue from the fountain, till England's own vitality is on the wane.

The subjects of Chapters II., III., X., and XI., are "Malay Governments, 400 years ago," "Malay Governments at this present Time," "The Malay Amok," and "The Aboriginal Mind." These have given us illustrations of the mental standard in tropical races. To a person who has resided in one climate alone, it is difficult to arrive at a just conception of the extent to which climate alters the physical as well as the mental constitution of man. To elevate the black man to the standard of the white one is the darling project and hope of many amiable and well-meaning enthusiasts; but when the subject of this paternal interest asks for the sympathizer's daughter, then comes (as I have seen) the reaction. Experience of

many climates has brought me to this conclusion, that, unless you can put all mankind into one climate, to attempt to level it (by elevation or depression) is futile. Inexorable nature forces us to accept her conditions, and to confine our efforts for good to operations consistent with, and not opposed to these conditions. As it is, races will meet, but not on equal terms. Individuals may triumph over adverse circumstances, but it is in God's sight alone, not in man's, that all are equal. God's sight is universal—man's most limited. The demigods and heroes of the dark heathen are always painted white, and their evil spirits and devils are always painted black. As Socrates said to Cebes, "Between all two contraries a mutual twofold production, from one to the other, and from that other back again, exists." The opposing races will meet, and when the white man intrudes on the "habitat" of the black man, the superior will give off his virtue to the inferior, and the inferior will give off his weakness to the superior, as heat and cold draw off each other's properties. If England has too many children, India is large enough to absorb them all. Monopoly suggested the rejection of the children of England,—that policy was false to India alone. Population is but material—it is spirit that governs humanity: the higher the spirit infused into a nation or tribe, so much the more elevated will its worldly reputation be. There should be no hesita-

tion in sending the Englishman to India, so long as England can bear the drain.

In Chapters I., VIII., IX., and XII., viz., "The Anglo-Indian Alligator and The Anglo-Saxon Flies," "The Civil Service," "The Uncovenanted," and "The Mystery," I have endeavoured to give glimpses of the social and political state of my countrymen in India. The Great Western Company was the Hudson Bay one; the Great Eastern — "The Honourable Company of Merchant Adventurers," &c. The aspirations of the former were to get beaver-skins and sell blankets: the original aspirations of the latter were to obtain pepper and sell iron. As long as these monopolies were sanctioned by the British Parliament, no question could be asked. The fact of such broad territories being monopolies under such high sanction was a clenching answer, if not a convincing argument. Were monopolies sanctioned by the wisdom of the Greeks? Let us see, by returning to old Socrates, who, though not so learned or scientific as our modern philosophers, was quite as *wise* as any of them. Socrates told Cebes that, "if one class of things were not constantly given back in the place of another, revolving as it were in a circle, but generation were direct from one thing alone into its apposite, and did not turn round again to the other, or retrace its course—do you know that all things would at length have the same form,

be in the same state, and cease to be produced?" By means of monopoly the East India Company kept everything to itself, and gave nothing to anybody else over the fairest half of the earth, consequently under its sway nothing revolved in a circle, nothing retraced its course—*nature was sacrilegiously interfered with*—things ceased to circulate and be produced. This monopoly affected the populations as the withholding of a vital element does the human frame—all other elements were impoverished. And while the servants of the great monopoly gorged themselves with gain and spoil, they brought their employers into debt. The interchange of commodities ceased—the agricultural communities of India and China ceased to produce, and the manufacturing communities of England were barred from their legitimate markets. Monopoly in a class is like the unsatisfied appetite that craves for the sustenance of other men. It is the suffused eye that cannot see—it is the congested brain that cannot reason.

In the year 1833 the Company's monopoly of trade ceased; but only to perpetuate a monopoly still more abhorrent to true principle. This was a monopoly by the sons of mediocrity—of all honour, power, and position. With the view of securing this to their nominees, the Company, more tenaciously than ever, maintained the "closed service." The "closed service" was an institution on a Hindoo model, it was an aristocracy of *caste*, not an

aristocracy time-honoured and illustrious, such as we have in England, where there is the highest of earthly rank, but no *caste*. Any one who has not seen the practical working of the institution cannot appreciate the extent of feeling on the subject. Extremes always met, one way or an other. *Caste* is an infamous thing, originated by the servile Bengalee to keep the detested foreigner extruded from his inner household. The perverted faculties of the scions of monopoly honoured *caste* as did the meagre Bengalee, and fortified themselves against all England. The difference between their aristocracy of *caste* and the aristocracy of *rank* consisted in this, that it was not approachable by other Englishmen by any effort however great, glorious, or transcendent. This is not so with our ancient nobility, as a Brougham, a Hardinge, and a Clyde, with many others, living and dead, attest. The spirit of absolute exclusion pervaded their whole system, civil and military. No deeds however daring — no qualifications however superior — no parentage however noble, could penetrate the monopoly. The heroism of a private never elevated him to superior grade. The rules of their petty navy were equally exclusive. The rules of the English service, though more conservative than most other nations, never ignored singular instances of merit and devotion.

The Company's *caste* affected the whole body politic, and nature was affronted. Their pride

begat malice — their wealth, envy — their power, hatred. They stopped the revolving current of all humanity, and imparted political disease, which took this form. The unapproachable position of the Company's civilian unsettled all other branches of the service, and more particularly the army. The officers of the army, drawn from a wider area in the Bristish Islands than the civilians, were superior in original status; they felt dissatisfied in comparing their unequal positions—despised their duties, and craved civil appointments. By this means the native army was denuded of the best half of its officers; discipline relaxed, and disorganization and mutiny ensued. The result I need not recapitulate.

The Company's institution of *caste* acted injuriously in other directions. It combined against the interest of the *free* English in India. It combined with the Hindoo against the Christian. Their *caste* greatness was built on Hindoo prejudices rather than on European reminiscences. Colleges were built for pagan literature, where the Vedas and Puranas were consulted. The pride of pagan historical associations sympathized with *caste* feelings. Christian books were excluded from these institutions, and doctors of the "closed" service ministered to the learning and exaltation of the young pagan polygamist whose harems were scarcely outside the college gates. Such were the freaks of the greatest monopoly England ever sup-

ported. But she supported it unwittingly. Injured nature reacted by the rebellion of 1857—a rebellion not of the *free* English settlers against the Company—but of the pampered Hindoos against their unnatural allies—the Company's scions of *caste*.

On the last Chapters, viz. XIII. and XIV., "The Indian Connection" and "Service Reform," I may be permitted the following remarks: with the transference of the Company's government to the Crown a new era for India dawned. A great government can afford to adhere to just principle in its policy; and the policy that my long and intimate contact with Asiatics leads me to advocate I believe to be the true one to both the mighty interests concerned.

England may be likened to a noble oak-tree, having many roots and branches: her seed spreads to all corners of the earth, and her branches shelter many peoples. The seeds that fall in temperate climates take root and grow with all the freshness and vigour of the parent stalk. They require no sustenance from the giant mother-stem, as they have vigour in themselves—all they require is the shadow of her wide-spreading branches: they grow up under this and hedge round the parent tree with their lusty arms. Their populations living under contrary circumstances, a current from "one to the other and from that other back again" is produced, whereby both live on each other—both receive mutual support—both grow stronger and stronger. The manufactured products of the skilled population

of the mother-land find their way to the colonist, and the raw produce of the rough colonists finds its way to the mother-land back again. Here is nature's law in operation, whereby health, vigour, and progress is maintained, and wherein mutual good offices perpetuate the spirit of love and devotion.

India has hitherto only been as a parasitical plant growing on the great stem of the empire. The parasitical plant has lovely foliage and aromatic flowers, and its branches rear themselves as high as England's. India excites the wonder and envy of the world. But may we ask, while the parasite decorates the coronet of England, does it add to her strength, or does it induce weakness? The answer has been given in many ways, from the ponderings of many statesmen. To assist in the solution of the difficulty, I would ask—does the Indian empire maintain itself by its own guardians or by guardians drained from the best blood of old England? The reply can be none other than that the Indian empire, with the nature of a parasite, maintains itself by drawing off the heart-sap of the old oak. Then what induces us to maintain the connection? Is it legitimate trade? No: M'Culloch tells us that a great portion of the trade articles exported from England is in powder and shot—not for sale. What then should induce us to retain India—mere sentiment — love of power—glory, or such ephemeral ideas? No! Were England like Denmark or Prussia, India would be of no

service to her; but she is rich in mineral wealth. Her mineral wealth—coal and iron—have stimulated her inventive faculties, which have developed themselves in the most amazing multiplicity of machines and manufactures. These have created wealth untold of in history. The wealth fills her soil to repletion with an energetic and intelligent population. The old oak is sound to the core, yet, though it gathers luxuries from all corners of the earth—for its tap-root is deep in its own underground mines—so it need not fear the draught of the huge parasite called India. England is plethoric; John Bull is full-blooded, so is the better for cupping. England is full to repletion with young blood, so India is the land to welcome those who care not to go to the rough colonies.

Then as the connection is to be maintained, what are to be the terms to the Englishman? Is he to be starved to death in the manner of the old East India Company, who would only permit an occupation certificate for six feet by two? Or will you admit him to occupy the soil for his own benefit, for the exercise of his energies, and for the employment of his capital? Here again no answer can be more decided; there can be no hesitation in extending a liberal policy to the Englishman in India, for he will do good in many ways. He will give profitable employment to the poor native, and so ameliorate his condition, increase his wants, and also satisfy more of them. He will create a mutual

intelligence between the Queen and the ryot (he will direct the current contraries between contraries); and further, he will stimulate the growth of raw products, such as cotton, sugar, rice, and so forth. These will go for the purchase of manufactures from England, and thus assist in mutual benefits. Again, the Englishman's influence will be personally directed to the enlightenment of the people, and his national loyalty will strengthen the Queen's empire. Works, public and private, will be powerfully stimulated; famine will be averted by the improvement of communications. Contentment will reign where peace at one time could only be maintained by the sword.

Under a radical change of measures, a wise government will be watchful, and the most important object of solicitude will be *service reform*. An enlightened government will introduce measures required by altered circumstances brought about by the introduction of the English element into the social and political system of India. And here I will shortly notice the views of another Far Eastern writer before making the suggestions that have occurred to myself—not because I adopt his conclusions, but because his information helps to illustrate the subject.

Mr. Meadows' scheme is an ambitious one; its design comprises no less than a "plan for the union of the British Empire and the Improvement of the British Executive." This mighty desideratum he

would effect by an imposition of the Chinese system of competitive examinations, which, according to his own statement, permits of no degrees—no bachelorships—no doctorates of *virtue*. The system, he tells us, classifies with much approximative accuracy the degrees of *cleverness*; and, in the Chinese mind, cleverness is the associate of *morality*. He informs us that the system has stood the test of one thousand years, the main features of which are that there are triennial examinations of bachelors in each province, conducted under examiners sent from Peking. At these examinations five to ten thousand aspirants offer themselves, but of whom only seventy generally pass. Those passing the examinations become licentiates, and are at liberty to appear at the metropolitan examinations at Peking, where two to three hundred out of the number from all the provinces may attain the degree of doctor. Bachelors under this system have no right to expect office, but doctors have office by right (what sort of Parliament would the Fellows of the Royal Society make?). Hard and successful study only enables a Chinese to set his foot on the lowest step of the official ladder (what sort of post-office clerk would Dr. Faraday make?). The Chinese may thus be said, in every sense of the term, to be governed by savans. Mr. Meadows further tells us that the Chinese have the *right of rebellion*, and while they are the least revolutionary, they are, at the same time, the most rebellious of all nations. He states, with philosophic

accuracy, the precise degree of misgovernment that entitles the Chinese to rebel; so being, according to his own account, the most rebellious, we cannot but conclude that that precise degree of misgovernment is more frequent in their system than in any other nation. So much for Mr. Meadows' government of savans.

Mr. Meadows, with candour, also brings himself to admit that the English are morally higher than the Chinese. Coupled with this, he also admits that the Chinese have a distinct right to put a tyrannical emperor to death, which departure from strict patriarchality is one of the causes of the stability of the nation. The Chinese nation, while thus stable, he shows to be a conquered one, and ruled by a foreign race (the Manchoos), as India is by England. In British phraseology, China proper would be called a "possession," not a nation; so Chinese nationality has no existence—their system is, therefore, not applicable to England.

At the end of his volume, Mr. Meadows enlightens us on the degree of humanity which adorns the ancient system of competitive officialism. On the 29th of July, 1851, he attended an execution of thirty-four rebels or bandits, of whom one was to be cut up alive. The criminals were, ere long, brought to the spot, and Mr. Meadows observed that their strength was altogether gone from excess of fear or from bad treatment. Thirty-three were ranged in a row, and one was fixed to a cross. The execu-

tioner stood, with the sleeves of his coat rolled up, by the side of the foremost criminal: when ordered, he cut the thirty-three heads off in less than three minutes; and, this done, he proceeded, with a single-edged dagger or knife, to cut up the living man on the cross, whose body and limbs were bound for the purpose. This was a strongly-made man of forty years of age, who had been arrested by the authorities, after they had seized his parents and wife. The crucified man, to save his relatives, gave himself up to the executioner. Mr. Meadows tells us that he watched the crossing of the forehead, the slicing of the flesh from off the front of the thighs; and he precisely informs us that this horrible butchering of humanity took four to five minutes. After the execution, Mr. Meadows observed an assistant place his foot on the back of the first body, and with his left hand seize hold of the head and saw away at the unsevered portion till it was completely cut through. *This will be sufficient for our obtaining a just appreciation of the probable effects of Mr. Meadows' Chinese system of competitive officialism in any portion of the British empire.*

All monopolies pervert the human mind; and I make this remark as I revert to the East India Company. If we are to believe recent writers on India, W. H. Russell, Lang, and others, their "closed service" ended with scenes of wholesale butchery, equal to anything in China. For the honour of England, it may be, they were not so

cold-blooded. With this before the reader, sufficient apology is furnished for myself, or any other British subject, when we are so bold as to make suggestions for the better government of India.

India has now a "competitive service" to govern her, and to monopolize all posts of trust and honour. And wherein does this service differ from that of China? wherein is it better, and wherein is it worse? It differs in this manner, that the Chinese official gives his life to study—his years to gain a step. The civilian of India, when a lad, undergoes two or three years of cramming, and then claims the unexampled privileges of his *caste*. The system is infinitely more vicious than that of China, and must end in greater demoralization. The great weaknesses of the Hindoo are in his *caste* prejudices, and the civil service of India adopts these prejudices. The fundamental doctrine of the Chinese polity is a false one; it links cleverness to virtue. Reason tells us that an impressible boy may not grow into a judicious man—that a ready wit does not prove thoughtfulness—quickness may not be coupled with perseverance, nor may intelligence always guarantee morality. *The higher qualities of man are only developed by time and trials.* It were well if a system could be matured for India more in consonance with the genius of the British people; a system calculated to conserve great interests, not to rend them asunder.

It will thus appear that my own convictions

oppose the competitive system in the civil service: then it may be asked, what would I substitute? To this I would reply, that it is of minor consequence what England may adopt for herself, as she has lynx-eyed public opinion within her to react promptly against falsity; but the case is different in her tropical possessions. In these I would substitute nothing else than what England's good sense has always supported: my cry would be, *Let there be no invidious distinctions between equals;* and out of this principle all interests would shape themselves with safety. Old Socrates has elucidated the universal rule of contraries, and it would be well to bear that in mind. An opposite treatment of equal things will bring on as much detriment as an equal treatment of opposites. *On this rock the East India Company's government was wrecked.* A civil service of savans would, on Socrates' rule, demand a component element of unmitigated ignorance. Under it the inferior grade of European servants would not be able to read or write. This was the mediæval system, when priests ruled the land. I observe now that a coffinmaker's son has successfully competed, and thus entered the aristocracy of India. Competitive examination is a wonderful machine, when it can make a coffinmaker's son illustrious, even before he may have acquired the habits and tone of a gentleman. Notwithstanding this, I maintain that all British subjects are born equal; their ultimate position alone must be left to individual fortune or

qualifications. No power can prevent the rise of a George Stephenson or a Lord Clyde, and no one would be so hardy as to ignore the illustrious position of these great men. They attained their places after they *had fully developed their incomparable merits.* The falsity of the competitive system for the civil service of India consists in the acceptance of *undeveloped boys* to hold a monopoly of all positions of the highest trust. This offence against nature should cease, and a new system be inaugurated. And what should this system be ?*

The spirit that governs India must be an intelligent one; it must have no blind routine to cramp its rapid development—to ignore its ever-changing requirements. India has always been a prey to the conqueror, or it has been torn to pieces by faction. England's power has cemented her together, and made many races and languages into a homogeneous whole. It is England's power alone that has done this; it is her power alone that will maintain it so. Then let England keep the *key.* The key can be

* As I only pretend to glance at principles (details would fill volumes), I would ask the intelligent reader to look over the recent works on Ceylon and Java, from which many good hints on the government of tropical possessions will be derived. Ceylon, as I observed it ten years ago, was far in advance of any portion of the East India Company's dominions, whether as to constitution of governments, system of civil service, or public and private enterprise. The government of Netherlands India was thrifty and contracted, and thus not burdensome to the people. With the Dutch, European agency was cheap and abundant.

trusted in no other hands. Let her diplomatists—her army and navy—be wholly English, and held to their duty, for, assuredly as the Asiatic element is introduced into these, so will decay be generated. With the key of the empire in the hands of Old England, the necessity for a "closed civil service"—a pampered aristocracy of employés—will have ceased. India may then be served by public departments, such as are maintained at home and in the colonies. The individuals in their departments may be rewarded according to their merits only, and thus abuse of patronage would be avoided. The leaders of the British people might no longer denude themselves of the power of nominating the instruments of their policy in India, for whose conduct they are responsible to the nation; nor need the heads of departments be denuded of the same power of nominating their assistants, for whose conduct they are responsible to the government. Provided the nominee can pass an examination and can prove that he possesses a competent knowledge of the duties of the post, I can see no earthly reason why he should be excluded on the plea of his being a son of a man in power—the son of a minister—of a member of parliament, or the mayor of a city. Why should the public services of a father react against the interest of a son? Is the nation not better of the link? *Competitive services cut the sympathetic tie between the government and the people.* It introduces sycophancy towards the former and oppression upon the latter. The

history of the Chinese competitive system abundantly illustrates this to be the truth.

The influx of Europeans into India was a subject of jealous fear to the East India Company. Their fears rested on a selfish basis. In India the European does not last for ever—his health declines, and his vigour soon gives way. His virtue may remain to him for one or two generations. Then I say the more virtue infused into a degenerate land the greater will be the good for the time being. As it is with English Christianity in India, the constant presence of the missionary being necessary, so it is with English polity—it is only the white man's personal presence that will maintain it. The call for the European will be continuous, for nature wars in the tropics against the white man and his institutions. The Hindoos are as unchangeable as the Egyptians; but the influence of the Englishman will give a higher development to their industries—a better direction to their efforts. He will bring peace and plenty to the land: but this can only be gained by the presence of the free Englishman.

THE AUTHOR.

1865.

SOME GLIMPSES INTO LIFE

IN

THE FAR EAST.

CHAPTER I.

THE ANGLO-INDIAN ALLIGATOR AND THE ANGLO-SAXON FLIES.

THE public are indebted to the meritorious communicativeness of the Hon. E. A. Blundell of the East India Company's Civil Service for the following curious narrative. Its authenticity is beyond doubt, having been extracted from official records, portions of which are here given. The narrative will, I hope, be found to contain a lucid and characteristic description of the Far Eastern social and political system as it was more than sixty years ago.

The above authority says that "some time during the first of the year 1796 the office of superintendent of the island of Penang was assumed by Major Forbes Ross Macdonald, by appointment from the Government of Bengal. The gallant Major seems to have thought that the more he wrote, and the more voluminous his despatches, the more credit would he earn; as, before he had been six months

in the island, he despatched two Reports, which occupy upwards of 500 closely-written folio pages, and the style being somewhat inflated and redundant, his meaning is not at all times very intelligible.

"Major Macdonald, and the mercantile community of the island very soon became hostile to each other, though the absence of any real ground of hostility, judging from the Major's own Reports, raises a suspicion that the grapes must have been sour. If his orders, or his conscience, forbade him from engaging in trade, that was no reason why the merchants should be run down in a body, as scarcely deserving the appellation; nor, considering that the mercantile community must have imagined him possessed of the right to engage in trade, ought he to have expected them to come forward and give him, a stranger, such information *as might enable him to compete with them in trade*, to their disadvantage. The Major is loud in his complaints to Government, especially against Mr. James Scott, the partner of the Major's predecessor (Captain Light), and to him are ascribed all the difficulties and impediments which he met with.

"The preamble of the Major's first Despatch, dated July, 1796, will give a good idea of the style of the gallant officer; but a brief outline of the remainder of these bulky Despatches, with a few extracts here and there, can alone be given.*

* See "Journ. Indian Arch.," p. 94, vol. v.

"HONOURABLE SIR,

"Since the first hour of my arrival in this island, every moment which could be spared from the current business of the day, has been devoted to the acquirement of the most ample, and, at the same time, the best founded, information as to the commerce, population, cultivation, and external policy of this settlement."

"My success has by no means kept pace with my endeavours. The sources of intelligence are but few, and from them the stream runs not only scanty but turbid. On every side I have had to encounter obstacles arising from commercial jealousies, secret animosities, and tardy, but contradictory details; but, above all, from a selfish policy, which dreaded official interference and consequent decline of influence."

"The history of the island since its establishment under the British flag, is only to be gathered from the journal and ledger of a certain mercantile house, which, indebted for its uncommon prosperity to the preponderating weight it derived from having as its principal and most ostensible head the Company's Superintendent, and the convenient command of the Public Treasury, is too much interested in defeating all retrospective inquiry, to allow more to transpire than what the publicity of certain mercantile transactions forbid it to dissemble, or which is to be gleaned with caution from its equally anxious although less favoured competitors, who are not backward in their attempt to prove, by no scanty

store of anecdotes, that the accomplishment of its interested views was not too frequently for the general good, and most avowedly sacrificed the real interests of the infant settlement.

"Between the illusive speciousness of the one, and the strong unqualified invective of the other, more than a general idea is not to be formed of past management. But, I am happy to affirm with confidence, that, in whatever light individual character may appear, the general policy will be found to have been progressive. The rapidity of its first advances, even under the most favourable circumstances, could not, upon a strict investigation into the prosperity of the island, have been expected to continue—much less after the effects of war came to be sensibly felt by the oldest and most firmly-established marts. It then received a severe blow, and that it did not sink totally under it, must minister a convincing proof that the original plan was founded in commercial wisdom, and that the guidance of its infant interests was intrusted to a head and hand of no inconsiderable ability and activity.

"To the war, and that only, is to be attributed on a liberal view, its visible decrease of speed and its gradual declension into a slow march, mistaken, by the cursory observer, for quiescence; and, by party-spirit, and interested malevolence, construed into retrogradation.

"Disappointed very early in my expectation that a candid statement of the favourable intentions of

the Government towards the island would stimulate those most immediately concerned, and most conversant with the subject, to an equally ingenious detail of the progress it had made, its actual state, the means by which it had risen, and those most likely to insure its future prosperity; and pressed by a Despatch from your Honourable Board, under date the 4th of April, I addressed a letter to the gentlemen engaged in commercial pursuits, requesting them to favour me with such information on the subject of trade, and the *practicability of raising a revenue from it*, as their local knowledge or general correspondence might suggest.

"The result I have the honour to transmit to you. Had I done it sooner I should have failed in my duty to you and justice to those concerned in the prosperity of the island; feeling, as I did, a conviction that, on every subject of the Report, party-spirit and private pique had been too freely indulged to admit of a strict adherence to simple fact.

"To soften some of the harsher features of the picture here drawn, and to palliate, or do away with, the prejudices which strong allegations, although unsupported by proof, might on a first view suggest, I have perused with attention the scanty records of the island, and have consulted, upon doubtful and delicate points, one or two gentlemen of veracity, whose long residence here, and intimacy with all parties, have enabled them to form a tolerably just estimate of past transactions.

"What I have been able to collect I have the honour to lay before you in the annexed remarks. I trust, as divested of all party prejudice, and dictated by a sincere wish to convey to you the purest information, it will meet your indulgence. My residence here has not been long; and, deprived as I have been, from various circumstances, of every assistance, my time has been so completely occupied that I have had but short intervals to dedicate to inquiry or investigation.

"When I addressed my letter to the Commercial Committee, I acted under a conviction that from Mr. Scott alone, of all the members of it, any information of importance was to be gained. But that was repeatedly refused or evaded, on private and friendly application, for a reason which, however cogent, was little indicative of generous pride or consciousness of rectitude, 'That owing to an unfortunate prepossession against his general character, and the idea which had been industriously disseminated of his aiming at improper influence on the island, the merited credence would, in all probability, be refused to his single assertions.' He urged the formation of a Committee, when, countenanced by an aggregate of names (supposed, because asserted to be, the designation of actual and extensively-engaged commercial houses) he would freely impart what his experience from long residence, and his information from a wide circle of correspondence, had enabled him to collect.

"I was not without my suspicions of his intentions; but was far from imagining that he would, under the mask of such a feeble battery, hazard invective so strong, or censure so unqualified—the less pardonable that, in no instance, do they bear a relation to the only point recommended to the consideration of the Committee.

"It is a painful but necessary remark—for to be silent would be but to deceive—that there exists not a house upon this island, that of Scott excepted, which merits the epithet 'commercial;' nor any individual out of the pale of that firm of sufficient capital to be, with propriety, esteemed a 'merchant,' in a liberal acceptance of that word. Of the junior members of that house (which for a purpose as flimsy as it is deceptious, has been made to appear two), Mr. Lindsay's name alone could give weight to any mercantile opinion.

"My sole motive for this otherwise invidious observation is limited to my wish that you should be acquainted with what I most sincerely believe to be the fact, that in the Report of the Committee you either see detailed Mr. Scott's opinions alone—dictated and assented to by the rest; or if, here and there, those of any other individual have been added, the former have gained no accession of currency or intrinsic value.

"It remains but to advert to the studied affectation of ever introducing the merits of Mr. Light in contradistinction to the uniform culpability of his

successors. Under such stigma as may be supposed to attach on this attack, the credit of the latter may rest unsullied, as they are but made to share the obloquy meted out with no sparing hand to their superiors. But for those who in a sincere endeavour to investigate the truth have to combat with novelty of situation, intricacy of inquiry, and strong affirmation, it is not a little fortunate that, by this very eulogium, they are furnished with the means of combating those difficulties.

"The panegyrist of Mr. Light can have no objection to his evidence; and, where that can be appealed to, and compared with Mr. Scott's, I trust it will be found to speak a language more congenial to infant but successful effort, and to hope infinitely more incentive.*

(Signed) "FORBES ROSS MACDONALD."

"The Committee assembled by Major Macdonald on the 19th May, 1796, consisted of the following gentlemen, viz.:—Messrs. McIntyre, Scott, Lindsay, Hutton, Roebuck, Young, Brown, Sparran, Mackrell, and Nason, of whom Young was the Secretary."

"At their first meeting Major Macdonald informed the Committee that he was desirous of procuring information as to the trade of the island; that it

* The Author is not responsible for Major Macdonald's peculiarities of style, as the extract is *verbatim et literatim*.

was suggested to lay on a tax of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on imports; and that it was his opinion that '*the duties of the merchants and those of the state were reciprocal; and that a generous and liberal contribution was expected of them.*"

"The Committee preface their Report with a long string of complaints against the Government, of which the chief are:—the uncertainty and apprehension caused by the formation of a settlement in the Andamans, and the frequent reports of Penang being abandoned in its favour—the alarm and apprehension caused by disputes with Keddah, relative to the payment of the promised compensation to the Rajah—the indecision and uncertainty that prevailed relative to landed tenures—the absence of a Court of Law—the subjection of the inhabitants to trial by court-martial, which had deterred numerous people from settling there—the want of protection from European enemies—the impressment of labourers, by military force, to carry on public works—the inactivity and unaccommodating manners of Mr. Mannington—and the undefined rate of taxation contemplated by Government.

"Under the head of 'Commerce,' the Committee argue very forcibly against taxing the trade of the island, as 'consisting wholly of the produce of other countries, which it is the grand object to induce to be brought, and which taxation might scare away.' They point out 'that it is the extent of the exchange trade which gives life, activity, riches,

population, and cultivation to Penang. The laying restraints thereon, if but suspected that it might lessen the trade, could not be deemed politic. That by a free exchange 'the increase of population, capital, and cultivation would present a taxable subject in the farming and exclusive sale of luxuries to a rich and great population, and a duty on the net produce of an extensive and valuable cultivation.'

"They conclude with an unanswerable argument. 'But what renders it impossible to levy any duty on the trade at Penang is our not possessing the sole sovereignty of the port, and hence ships anchoring at Prye, on the opposite shore, could there trade independent of our jurisdiction.'

"Under the head of 'Cultivation,' the Committee observe that cultivation has not progressed since Mr. Light's death; that almost the whole cultivation carried on by the poorer natives has been effected by aids given by the house of Scott and Co., who have mortgages thereon; that these aids were given at the request of Mr. Light, on a promise of reimbursement; but that his death involves either a continuance of the aids till the cultivation becomes productive, or the loss of the money advanced; that these advances amount to near a lac of rupees; that the extension of the system offers a most certain source of revenue; that a continuance of the system is necessary as the principal articles of cultivation—pepper, cocoa, and

betel-nut require large advances before any returns can be expected; that such continuance of the system would, under some modified arrangements, be more beneficial in the hands of Scott and Co. than in those of the Company's servants lately arrived in the island, and who are ignorant of the people and language; that some of the Committee recommend that the tax on cultivation should be farmed—others that it should be levied direct; and, finally, that no measures for the prosperity of cultivation can be effected till 'the Supreme Government pledge themselves to make good to the cultivators any loss they may sustain from the precipitate measures of their servants here, and that no cultivation can exist if the Superintendent for the time being can, on ill-founded information, lay a district under military execution, and then leave the sufferers, when their innocence of any supposed delinquency has been clearly proved, to procure redress when, where, and how they can.'

"The Committee commence the section of 'Population' with: 'As a perfect freedom of exchange carries trade and industry by the most direct means to a maximum, so ease and plenty carries population.' Again, 'Moderation in manners, forbearance in temper, and the most patient attention to the complaints and wants of the natives are qualifications the most absolutely necessary in the members of this Government, on which all hopes of an increase of population must ultimately depend.'

"The Committee conclude their Report with twenty-one suggestions, which they desire may be laid before the Government, for the general welfare of the settlement:—

"1. That the Supreme Government do officially announce the intention of keeping the island, and of considering it as a part of the British Empire in India. 2. That the port be declared free. 3. That ingress or egress to and from the port be allowed without fee or detention. 4. That a portion of the opposite coast be obtained from Keddah, so as to secure the sovereignty of the port. 5. That the Supreme Government pledge themselves to the community that the assessment on land produce shall never exceed a given rate, say, ten per cent. 6. That the term of commencement shall not be previous to a given date (say 1800). 7. *That land be given in perpetuity.* 8. That it be not optional with the local authorities to change the forms under which land has hitherto been held, transferred, or mortgaged. 9. The establishment of a Court of Judicature. 10. That, pending the establishment of such Court, a magistrate be appointed, &c., a man of accommodating manners, mild temper, and experience. 11. That the military be no longer employed in executing civil orders. 12. That the fines for securing the farms be moderated or disused. 13. That military guards, necessary for protecting the Company's property or keeping the peace, be under their proper military officers. 14. That the

necessary orders for 'general convenience, or for police,' be no longer carried into effect by the military, but by a committee of the inhabitants, composed of equal numbers of each class. 15. That it shall not be permitted to the Sepoys to lend money, or make commercial contracts; or, if they do, that no coercive redress be given on complaint. 16. That those who may be intrusted with making advances to cultivators do so with promptitude, and a patient listening to all complaints. 17. *That European cultivators be equally encouraged with natives, and that the importation of slaves be prohibited.* 18. That the article of the treaty with Keddah, providing for the free export of rice, be enforced. 19. That the ground allotted to the Chinese, as a burial-ground, be free from all future molestation. 20. *That the powers now assumed by the Superintendent, of sending settlers to Bengal at his pleasure,* be rescinded; and, 21. That we are sorry to observe that your Government here is rapidly changing from the fostering hand of a kind father to the features of a severe master; and we recommend that such measures be adopted as will bring it back to its first principle—'the benefit of those living under it,' as held forth in the general letter of January 1787."

"An Appendix headed, 'Reflections on using the Military for carrying civil orders into effect,' discloses a very curious state of affairs. It is stated that, 'At the Custom-house, if a Nakodah (native

sea-captain), from ignorance, or inattention, or a strong wind and tide, does not bring-to the moment the guard calls, he is seized, dragged—literally dragged—before the 'under strapper,' or Havildar, and taught his exercise with the butt-end of a musket, or a bayonet, and plundered, under the name of a compromise. * * * * * At the gaol, the moment a person is confined there, he is taught the military step, by the butt or the bayonet; and, if he growls, or looks angry, by more than one; and, as the guard keep the prison keys, they maltreat those whom they dislike. This insolence is often extended to those who may bring the prisoners their food. * * * * * As they (the committee) have most convincing proof that ill-blood exists between the inhabitants and the present detachment of the Marine Battalion, they think it highly imprudent to use them in such services."

"This Report and statement of grievances (of which the above are the merest abridged extracts) were forwarded by Major Macdonald to Government in a letter, of which the preamble has already been given. He comments on it at great length, and in the order adopted by the committee. Under the head of 'commerce,' he fastens at once on the account of the trade, drawn up by Mr. James Scott, and affirms that it gives no information, and, above all, does not account for the means whereby Messrs. Scott and Light were enabled to control the market, and compete successfully with Bengal merchants.

He says, 'had a fair competition been allowed for distant capital—had not those boasted regulations of the house of Scott, which, with an apparent moderation and fairness, only evince a more refined but no less engrossing policy, barred the door against those who, trading on their own funds, required a profit proportionate to the risk, we should not, after ten years, have yet to inquire, with but a feeble ray to direct us, the nature and amount of the Penang trade; nor would the *soi-disant* merchants of the committee, when pride and interest—two powerful incentives—stimulated them to a candid confession, have contented themselves with referring to such a document.' After describing the nature of the Penang trade as connected with the Archipelago, India, and China, he proceeds: —'Such being the nature of the trade, passing through but never halting on this island, it becomes a question for your superintending wisdom to determine whether such a trade, with all its advantages of capital, general diffusion, quick and valuable returns, &c., be a fair subject of supervenient taxation. For it is to be remarked that, with the exception of those articles which supply the remittance to the Chinese investment, the rest pays a duty in some part of the Company's possession.'

"Under the head of 'Cultivation,' Major Macdonald of course combats, with all his might, the recommendations of the *complaisant* committee that the system of advances should continue under the

arrangement of Scott & Co. He says, 'How tenaciously Mr. Scott, in the agony of despair at the daily retrogradation of his influence, from a period somewhat antecedent to Mr. Light's death, defends this last remaining nook, is strongly evinced by the total disregard of wonted caution. This is no moment for finesse—no time for slowly-operating sap; the enemy is pressing hard upon him, and he is reduced to the *ultima ratio*, his artillery of—*recent arrival,—consequent inexperience,—ignorance of language,—inability of discrimination,—culpability in the hand of venality* and *unproductive lavishness of public money*,—and this not directed against any one devoted victim, but against all and every one whom Government may think proper to depute. Mr. Light, in his eagerness to clear, gave away as much to every claimant as his avidity prompted him to demand. Malays, Sepoys, Lascars, all descriptions became siezed of landed property. Few grants were ever issued; consequently, since his death, the proprietorship has became a source of cavil and uncertainty. The native Surveyor's measurement, attested by his seal, is, at this moment, the only document which the greater number possess.' Major Macdonald complains greatly of the manner in which large tracts of the best lands have been allowed to accumulate in the hands of a few Europeans who do not even attempt to clear them; and he proposes that grants of land hereafter, to all descriptions of applicants, be limited. He gets

very violent as he proceeds. 'This arrangement may at first view appear hard and unjust; but it must be considered that the assumptions of land by a few Europeans have been very wanton, and are extremely injurious to the prosperity of this rising settlement, by vesting property in a *set of low wretches, too ignorant and short-sighted* to turn that property to advantage; or in their *children*, in whom, in general, are to be traced all *the passive vices* of their parents.'

"Major Macdonald then proceeded to detail a suggestion of his own, towards payment of the island expenses, viz.,—'that the *Government should itself engage in the Straits trade*, to a limited amount of capital,' and concludes his letter by stating that he 'does not expect to raise for the current year more than 126,000 rupees, though the estimate had been 281,000.'

"To this Despatch, in a few months, succeeded another of 250 paragraphs, in which Major Macdonald completes his view of the state of affairs in the island, and offers suggestions for further management. From this letter a few extracts, under its several heads, are here given, such as describe the state of the island at that time, and possess an interest at this present day:—

"CIVIL AND CRIMINAL JUDICATURE."

"POLICE."

"Each language, in imitation of those under the

Dutch government, have had a captain, or head man, appointed over it, to administer justice in all cases not requiring an appeal to higher powers, to keep registers, and regulate the police of all their districts.

"The men whom I found in office have, to a man, proved unworthy of their trust. I long hesitated to make any alterations, judging it preferable to deprive myself of the assistance which that class of police-officers might afford than to hazard a nomination which ignorance, self-interest, or favour, might recommend, to the prejudice of the general good.

"By this resolution I involved myself in perpetual scenes of complaint and litigation: my house was every day filled, and my time so entirely occupied as to divert my attention from the pursuit of requisite and general information. * * * * * To *the Europeans alone*, to their interested motives, to their spirit of insubordination, must he attributed the general laxity of every department; for where could rigour—where could, with propriety, any restrictive regulations operate—while the most conspicuous part of the community not only itself sanctioned, but preached up, publicly, a crusade against the Government? * * * * * An idea has been suggested and fondly cherished, that the grant or purchase of land has given a certain validity, a right to residence, which is unknown in any other quarter of the Company's territory; and

that as the charter has not extended the powers of jurisdiction to the dependencies of Bengal, European settlers here are out of the pale of all legal control. Their experience of the general lenity of Government, ministering to them the flattering idea that they may long revel in independence before the arm of power will be *raised to crush them.*'

"The Major's opinions of the Malays may be gathered from the following:—'Religious prejudices, fostered by laziness and false pride, forbid the Malays to be cleanly in their houses, at least below, and in the environs of them.' Of the natives of Penang generally, he says:—'A mixed, a little estimable population, live huddled together, in a manner little superior to their favourite animal, the buffalo; property and assumed occupancy are blended in such a manner as to nearly baffle discrimination; every species of villany, of depravity, and of disease, here finds an asylum.'

"His animosity towards Europeans will again appear in the following:—'This island was established, and still continues to be supported, for the extension and protection of commerce. As merchants only should Europeans be permitted to settle: if to their convenience *a few acres of ground for a house, garden, and a few cows* were thought necessary, I certainly am of opinion it should be granted; and, where a spirit of industry—a love of improvement—is evinced in Europeans, worthy of indulgence, I should have no objection to an extension of

grant. * * * * * To purchases from the needy lower classes of inhabitants, I have uniformly hitherto shown myself averse. Mr. Young, not contented with 40 times more ground than he will, it is my opinion, ever cultivate, some months ago purchased from the Burmah settlers a large tract which they had cleared, thus throwing them back upon the Company's ground, where, from charity, Mr. Light had received them, on their emigration from Keddah, to be a burthen to it, and useless to themselves. I have refused *to register the sale*, and have ordered the Burmahs to resume their property, as they shall not be encouraged, without proving themselves, by industry, worthy of protection. Of every spot which Mr. Scott's sagacity pointed out as, at a future hour, likely to become valuable, he has, by assumption or purchase, made himself a part-owner. But I believe his views, the ultimate bequest of his estate excepted, have always turned to the prosperity of the island, towards which his own improvements on an extended scale contribute. What he does not immediately cultivate I have reason to think he would dispose of to the Company at a fair valuation, or on the terms by which he acquired it. Mr. Layton is likewise an industrious and prospering farmer, as Mr. Brown was previous to his junction with Mr. Young. The latter gentleman I consider in every walk a speculatist, much too ardent and versatile to permit any one of his schemes to even a distant chance of

success. Although here a settler of three years, and long possessed of land, no part of it yet promises to reward his own labour, or the public expectance from it.'

"The Despatch concludes with the following final blow, aimed at the obstreperous English settlers, and as the only appendix forthcoming contains the replies of these men to the call made on them, a few of their answers are here given; and thus concludes this terribly long report upon the state of Penang, in 1796:—

"Immediately on the receipt of your commands, I sent a circular to the European inhabitants, requesting the authority under which each of them has taken up his residence here. Their answer I have the honour to forward to you. Adverting to the contest I have had with the majority, I could wish to decline stating my opinion of their characters as merchants, or rather traders. It is not very favourable to them, the house of Scott excepted. What I have before said of them, in the aggregate, on further knowledge I confirm, that by *their removal* neither the particular interests of the island nor those of trade in general, could, in the most minute scale of deterioration, be affected; not that I wish any step to be taken to their prejudice. I would much rather witness their prosperity, provided they merited it by quiet and orderly behaviour. In what estimation they may stand with their employers as agents I know not; but

as traders on their own account, their sphere is certainly very limited.

"Of Mr. Fenwick, I have not heard for some time. Report speaks of him as a prisoner to the French. Previous to his departure, I had some idea he had repented of his folly; his violence made him the stalking-horse of more prudent men. The only difference between them was, he attacked openly, while they were contented to work by sap."

"*Copy of a Circular Letter to the European Inhabitants.*

"SIR,

"I have the honour to enclose to you a copy of a paragraph of a general letter from the Supreme Government, under date the 27th August, 1796, received yesterday by the ship 'Diana,' with the purport of which you will please immediately to comply, that I may take the earliest opportunity of forwarding your answer to the Governor-General in Council.

"I am, &c.,

(Signed) "FORBES ROSS MACDONALD.

"*Fort Cornwallis*, 21*st Sept.*, 1796."

ANSWERS.

"*To Forbes Ross Macdonald, Esq., Superintendent.*

"SIR,

"In answer to your letter of yesterday, I have to inform you that I came to settle on this island,

under the protection of Mr. Light, early in the year 1788, and have been on it since that time, but have no authority or permission whatever for my residing here.

"I am, &c.,

(Signed) "W. LINDSAY.

"*Penang, 22nd Sept.*, 1796."

"*To Forbes Ross Macdonald, Esq., Superintendent.*

"SIR,

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday, with the paragraph enclosed. I beg leave to inform you that I have in my possession the counterpart of my covenant as free merchant for Prince of Wales Island, and which I will produce if required.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "WILLIAM SCOTT.*

"*Penang, 21st Sept.*, 1796."

"SIR,

"As the paragraph in the letter is to this island only, I beg leave to inform you, that although my stay on this island has been much longer than wished for, yet I never thought of being a settler here, as I belong to Calcutta, to

* Afterwards Scott of Raeburn, and of Lessudden, in Roxburghshire.

which place I return as soon as I can settle my affairs.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "JAMES SCOTT.*

"*Penang, 21st Sept.*, 1796."

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date, with the paragraph of a general letter from the Supreme Government, authorizing you to require the European settlers to produce to you their authority or permission by which they reside in India.

"In reply to which I have the pleasure to inform you, that I came to India a Sergeant in his Majesty's Hundredth Regiment in the year 1781; that for my long services and the hardships in prison after the defeat of the army under the command of General Matthews, in the Mysore country, my commanding officer was induced to recommend me to Lord Cornwallis, who was pleased not only to give me my discharge, but to permit me to reside in any part of India, and personally recommended Prince of Wales Island as the most likely to answer my expectations.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "THOMAS LAYTON.

"*Prince of Wales Island, 22nd Sept.*, 1796."

* Uncle of Sir Walter Scott, and one of the fathers of the settlement of Penang.

"*Forbes Ross Macdonald, Esquire, Superintendent.*

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter under date the 21st instant, covering the following paragraph, received by the the ship 'Diana,' under date the 22nd August, 1796:—

"'You are to require all the European settlers on the island to produce to you the authority or permission under which they reside there, and to report their names and character to the Governor-General in Council, that he may determine on the propriety of withdrawing or continuing the permission.'

(Signed) "'Ross MACDONALD.'

"In answer to which I beg leave to inform you, for the information of the Governor-General in Council, that my authority or permission to reside in India is from his Majesty King George the Third, *God save him*; also from the superintendent, Francis Light, Esquire, commencing the 10th day of September, 1786, the public faith being pledged for that purpose, continued and am at present no inconsiderable settler, having in my possession houses and lands to a considerable amount.

"And as to my character, I shall take particular care that it be laid before the Governor-General in

Council, since the year 1779, by Admiral Rainer, also by other respectable characters, till the present period.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "WILLIAM HENRY NASON.

"*Penang, 22nd Sept.*, 1796."

REPLY TO THE FOREGOING.

"*23rd September*, 1796.

"SIR,

"In your letter of the 22nd instant, in answer to mine of the 21st, you say that your authority or permission for residing in India is from his Majesty King George III.

"You will please to furnish me, for the information of the Governor-General, with a counterpart or tenor for such permission.

"You likewise say that your settling and residing here is by official licence and particular desire of the former Superintendent, Francis Light, Esq., and that the public faith has been pledged for that purpose.

"You will please to furnish me with a copy of your special licence, and of that document by which the public faith has been pledged to you.

"I am, &c.,

(Signed) "F. R. MACDONALD.

"*Mr. W. H. Nason.*"

"*Forbes Ross Macdonald, Esq., Superintendent.*

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 23rd, in answer to mine of 22nd instant, wherein you demand, for the information of the Governor-General in Council, my authority or permission from his Majesty King George III. for residing in India.

"In answer to which I beg leave to inform you, that I was sent out to this country by command of his Majesty George III., under the command and protection of Captain now Admiral Rainer, in the year 1779, and to whom, as the representative of his Majesty George III., I must beg leave to refer you for any particulars during the whole time of the last French war in India.

"You also, Sir, wish to be informed by what licence I reside here; in answer to which, for the further information of the Governor-General in Council, I beg also to inform you that I came down here on the 10th day of September, 1786, at the instance and recommendation of John Ferguson, Esquire, and Thomas Henry Davis, Esquire, Advocate to the Honourable Company, and now deceased, to the then Superintendent Francis Light, Esquire, with whom I not only lived, but also received the sacred pledge of his honour and word, likewise that of the Honourable Governor-General in Council, and not only for protection of person

and property, but also for assistance in the hazardous attempt to cultivate a vile jungle; and in full assurance and reliance on such honourable testimony I began my operations, and have the pleasing satisfaction to assure you, Sir, that I am the man that cut the first tree, raised the first plant, produced and cultivated, and finally sold, the first estate to the Honourable Company.

"By the public faith being pledged I allude to the Honourable the Governor-General in Council, and their orders and directions they had given the Superintendent, Francis Light, Esquire, for the purpose of inducing people to come here and settle, and by which means only they have at last formed the most flourishing settlement in the world.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "WILLIAM HENRY NASON.

"*Penang, 24th Sept.*, 1796."

The records of the two following years (1798 and 1799) consist wholly of a series of complaints addressed by the Superintendent to the Supreme Government against the European residents on the island generally, and Messrs. James Scott, Young, Roebuck, and Nason in particular. Even a supposed Chinese conspiracy is made ground of complaints against the Europeans, as being entirely owing to the example and encouragement held out by their "systematic and contumacious opposition"

to all the measures of the local authorities. The Supreme Government or the secretaries (if indeed they ever went through those voluminous despatches and still more voluminous appendices containing absolutely nothing but details of quarrels with individuals) must have been heartily sick of the island and its affairs; and that they did not feel quite satisfied that their officers were always in the right, seems clear, from no attention having been paid to their complaints, except in the case of Mr. Young, who, having gone to Calcutta to prosecute his complaint against the Superintendent, was prohibited from returning to the island in consequence of the violent language in which he indulged. The prohibition, however, was soon taken off on his promise of amendment of conduct, and of apologizing to the Superintendent for his violence.

Out of a thousand closely-written folio pages one or two only relate to the general progress of the island. Viewed as the squabbles of a small and young settlement or colony, in which there were faults on both sides, the above very limited extracts are tiresome to peruse. But there is another way of looking at the matter, which must command earnest attention. Major Macdonald's opinions of his countrymen in the Far East are but a reflex of the opinions of his masters, the East India Company, to which body were granted, by the British Parliament, all profits and emoluments to be derived from the vast limits of their charter.

The extracts serve as an illustration of the minutiæ of the system. The impression on the mind of the chief authority, in one of the Company's settlements, seems to have been that his own countrymen were the worst people in the world; and had this impression been limited to the hallucinations of his own narrow sphere, I would have passed it unnoticed. A disinterested Government would have dismissed him; the Government that upheld him cannot but be implicated in his proceedings.

On reverting to the extracts, it will be seen that the domineering chief approached the settlers by cajoling them, in order to draw a "*generous and liberal contribution*" from their trade; and, having got from them the secrets of their trade, it became his object to absorb the whole for himself and his masters. In the answers drawn from his countrymen, there are some good home truths, not a small portion of true humanity, and fair political economy. Amongst these answers are a call for a Court of *Law*, permanent land tenure, *freedom of trade*, patience in hearing complaints, moderation of manners, and forbearance of temper. Last, not least, a call is made on the behalf of our common humanity, far in advance of the times in which they lived, viz., for the prohibition of the *Slave Trade*.

To these thoroughly English suggestions, the Chief of the Settlement replies by invective. He calls his countrymen a "low set of wretches;" and,

not content with that, abuses their children, "in whom," he says, are "all the passive vices of their parents." With such ideas, no wonder that he should recommend that Englishmen in India should not be allowed to have anything more than a "*house, a garden, and a few cows.*" This is laughable, yet the *exclusion of the English* has been the traditional policy of the East India Company—his demand was an echo of that policy. India lacked energy, intelligence, and capital. All these could be supplied by overflowing England, for the benefit of India—to develop her latent resources—to give a life-spring to her teeming population. And, if India is to be benefited by the energy, intelligence, and capital of England, can this be done by shutting out the benefactor? No; the policy is suicidal; it curtails the usefulness of all England. It is a species of monopoly which is opponent to true principle.

Amongst the objects of the Major's spleen were two men of note in the Far East, viz.—Mr. James Scott, the father of English merchants, and Mr. David Brown, the father of English planters. The former gentleman was eminent in pioneering markets for British manufactures amongst the most remote countries of the Eastern Archipelago. By his enterprise, the manufactures of Manchester, Glasgow, Dundee, Sheffield, and Birmingham were distributed far and near. This new trade indirectly brought peace and plenty into many a household of his native Britain. The latter gentleman directed

his energies and wealth to the establishment of plantations of pepper, nutmeg, cloves, areca, and sugar-cane. He persevered in these pursuits, through difficulties and disappointments which would have appalled any other man. Both these gentlemen were imbued strongly with a public spirit which rose superior to any selfish ends; and they have long been revered, far and wide, by natives and Europeans, for their disinterested philanthrophy and high moral courage.

Even at this time it is almost impossible to write without indignation of the humiliating position to which these worthies were consigned by a mercenary official. Mr. James Scott, after having invested his all in his beloved settlement of Penang, of which he was one of the founders, was at length forced to confess, rather than prostitute his British independence, that he "*belonged to Calcutta, and not to the Island;*" for to the latter he was now linked by a flimsy tenure—viz. the will of a grammarless, inflated, and insolent puppet in power.

In conversing over this story of by-gone times, my Malay friend Oamut's happy illustrations recurred to my memory. He remarked, as we were paddling up the Prye River one day, "That alligator, with his jaws wide open, is more of a knave than a fool; he appears to be sleeping, but he keeps his off-side eye well open. All the time that he is cajoling the flies to come and lick the sap off his tongue, his intentions are unamiable. No sooner

do the flies buzz home truths into his ears (for they can speak to each other as well as you or I), and tickle his throat disagreeably, than down his jaws come, and he crushes them to death."

CHAPTER II.

THE ABORIGINAL MIND.

For the following information I am indebted to the writings of Mr. J. R. Logan, the learned editor of "The Journal of the Indian Archipelago." (See Vol. I. page 307.) Although I myself have met parties of the aborigines in different districts of the Malay peninsula, I never observed them sufficiently to warrant my giving an independent sketch of them.

It is a curious fact that such unadulterated savages should have remained, for upwards of 300 years, close to the busy route of traffic pursued by Europeans, in the Straits of Malacca, and yet be so wholly unaffected in mind or manners. During the year 1846, the Rev. P. Favre visited many of the wild tribes in the interior of the Malay peninsula, with the view of establishing Roman Catholic Missions amongst them; but I have not learned the result, if any. With these remarks, I leave the succeeding extracts from Mr. Logan's paper to speak for themselves.

"The Mintira (one of the wild tribes) do not appear to have any more precise traditions respecting their origin than the Besisi and other tribes. They all believe that they are the original occupants of the country. 'You know,' said a Besisi to me, 'that this is the Pulo Besar, or Great Island, which belongs to us, and not to the Malays, who have intruded into our country.' The Mintira have the same notion, and those who lately visited me added, when conversing on this subject, that the Pulo Besar is so great that, in former ages, their ancestors were employed for many generations in endeavouring to circumambulate it; but each generation meeting a new country, the last of their nomadic forefathers *settled where the race now lives.* * * * * The great superstition of the Bermun tribes is their best protection against their equally superstitious and more civilized neighbours. The Malays and Chusisi of Malacca, with few exceptions, but particularly the Malays of Naning Ramban, and the other states in the interior, have implicit faith in the supernatural power of the Poyangs, and believe that many others amongst the aborigines are imbued with it. Hence they are careful to avoid offending them in any way; because, although they do not attempt, at the time, to retaliate, or even use threats, it is believed that they take the offence deeply to heart, and will, sooner or later, by occult means, revenge themselves. The Malays, when they have opportunities,

resort to them for the cure of diseases, with which they, or their relatives, are troubled. Revenge, also, not unfrequently sends them to the Poyang, whose power they invoke to cause disease, and other misfortune, or even death to those who have injured them.

"Amongst the Malays themselves, the tuju (pointing) and other supernatural arts are practised; but their practitioners are considered inferior in power to those of the aborigines.

"The very circumstance of these tribes remaining unconverted is probably a principal cause of the belief in their possession of unhallowed powers. New creeds in all countries are received without a total abandonment of the ancient ones. So long as the existence of the old gods and demons of the land is credited, multitudes will ask their aid, and deprecate their wrath, although they believe it is sinful to do so. To this day neither Hindooism, Islamism, nor Christianity itself have extinguished the ancient superstitions of the countries where they prevail. * * * * Here I only remark with reference to the incantations, charms, and other superstitions of the Mintira, that the greater part appear to be essentially native;* that is, they have not been borrowed from the Hindoos or Arabs, but have assumed their peculiar form from the state in which the tribe has existed in the Peninsula, from time immemorial;

* The Arabic portions have been added by Malays.

while, in substance, they have been transmitted directly from the same common source to which a large part of the inhabited world must refer its earliest superstitions. The religion of the Mintira is the primitive heathenism of Asia, which, spreading far to the east and the west, was associated with the religions of the oldest civilized nations; for it flourished in ancient Egypt (before the Hebrews were a people), in Greece, and Rome, and bids fair to outlast Hindooism in many parts of India. * * * * The constitution of society is simple amongst the Mintira, as amongst the Benua of Johore. Perfect equality prevails. The Batin is not distinguished in his manner of life from the others. Crimes are very rare. Theft is unknown. Children are carefully instructed to avoid it. Their only education consists in teaching the boys to climb and cut trees, and to use the sumpitan; and the girls to make bags and mats. The only plaything used is the gassing konde, or top.

"They have no weights. The cocoanut-shell is used as a measure. The musical instruments in general use are the salong and karanting. The rabana and gindang are also used.

"Their weapons are the sumpitan, chinang kus (kind of sword), kris, and limbing (spear).

"The most prevalent mental diseases are mati de tuju (death by pointing), sakit punan, sakit bara sisip, and bara terkiler.

"There are no traders, shopkeepers, or artificers.

"Their only resource, when troubled in mind, is to sing.

"They do not bathe frequently.

"They do not mix socially, nor intermarry with other Benua tribes, or with Malays.

"Mineral medicines are unknown, and the only animal substance used as a remedy is the oil of the boa-constrictor.

"Writing is unknown. They reckon dates by knots on a string. * * * * * All diseases are caused by spirits, or the spells of men. Amongst the spirits of disease the most powerful are Hantu Hamoran, Hantu Bara Sisip, Hantu Bara Terkiler. These hantus cause the greatest mortality. The Hantu Katum-bohan (spirit of the small-pox) is held in such dread that the Mintira evince a repugnance to mention its name. The Hantu Kambong haunts the abodes of men to afflict them with pains in the belly and head. The Piniakit Punan causes pains and accidents to persons who have a desire to eat any particular article of food, and not been able to get it. The Hantu Saburo, or hunter-spirit, dwells in lakes, pools, and rivers. His body is black, and he has three dogs called Sokom, or black mouth. When one of them passes a hut, the inmates make a great noise, by beating pieces of wood, &c., to frighten him away, and the children are caught up and held tightly by the older people. The Hantu Saburo chases men in the forest by his dogs; and, if they are run down, he drinks their blood. At

the upper extremity of every stream dwells the Hantu Tingi. In the ground lives the Hantu Kamang, who causes inflammations and swellings in the hands and feet, so as to deprive his victims of the power of locomotion. The Hantu Dondang resides in caves and crevices in rocks. He kills dogs and wild hogs, with the sumpitan, and drinks their blood. The Hantu Penyadin is a water demon, with the head of a dog and the mouth of an alligator. He sucks blood from the thumbs and big toes of men, and death ensues. When he leaves his watery abode, he wanders about incessantly in search of food until satiated, when he returns home. The Hantu Kayu (wood demon) frequents every species of tree, and afflicts men with diseases. Some trees are noted for the malignity of their demons. The Hantu Dago haunts groves, and assumes the forms of deer, &c., &c. * * * * The Poyangs and a few others only have the power of afflicting and destroying men by spells. These are of various kinds, operating in different ways, and rapidly or slowly. The most noted is the tuju (to point)."

The following are some examples of the invocations used:—

"INVOCATION OF THE INWALLED, (1).

"Hong! horn, iron, shout an offering of the wise to the forest in solitude! I am not walled with stone. I recline walled by the Earth, my face downwards!

Cover me, Salagori wind, from my enemies! Tear off the husk within! Hang a thick mist before the eyes of him who looks at me! Come, Thick Mist, the concealer, and render me invisible to all my enemies, opponents, and assailants! True, holy instructor, descend, and pray that I may touch, by the invocation of invisibility, all the eyes of my enemies, opponents, and assailants."

"INVOCATION OF THE INWALLED (2).

"Heh pisamin, which art named Iron. I dwell within a fence of angels, eleven on my left: I dwell within a fence of angels, eleven on my right: I dwell within a fence of angels, eleven behind me: I dwell within a fence of angels, eleven before me. If Mahomed be oppressed, then will I be oppressed. If the sun, moon, and stars be not oppressed, within shall I be oppressed. And if the earth and heavens be oppressed, then shall I be oppressed. If the earth and heavens be not oppressed, neither shall I be oppressed. If the dead bodies in the grave be oppressed, I also will be oppressed. Blessing to me through the reception of prayer of my religious instructor. Receive it, Mahomed; receive it, royal prophet of God! and grant that I may wear a prayer of one thousand lives, that I may not be oppressed by all that breathe upon this world!"

"PRAYER FOR LOVE.

"Oil I stir, and stir. I pour it out. I stand

erect like an umbrella. I walk greater than the sons of all mankind. Blessing on me, using the prayer of love! Love me entirely, all mankind who have two feet, and are five-fingered. Speak not of men whilst grass, twigs, and trees of the earth and heaven bow in love. Let all bow in affection, bow in love, towards me!"

"PRAYER FOR SWEETNESS.

"Sweet shoots, sweet leaves, I cut, running the while. Sitting, may I be exceedingly sweet! Standing, may I be exceedingly sweet! Sweet in the sight of all mankind, two-footed and five-fingered, as the moon and sun. Exceedingly sweet to be seen be the lustre of my face! Grant that I, using the prayer of sweetness, a sweet lustre may rise over my face!"

"PRAYER FOR THE SUBJECTION OF OTHERS.

"A nail—a low nail—I place on a sibi. When I sit amongst many men, may I be amongst the greatest, prophet of God! Grant me the fortune to cut that which is called Mamu. When I sit, may all mankind who breathe, wholly bow. Make them bow, God! Make them bow, Mahomed. Make them bow, royal prophet of God! Grant that I, by using the prayer of obeisance, may bow down all men, two-footed—five-fingered. Grant it, God! Grant it, Mahomed! Grant it, royal prophet of

God. Grant that I, using the prayer of obeisance, may stand before the living points of all mankind, two-footed, five-fingered!"

"INVOCATION FOR ABASING.

"Siluso padang silasa
Throw a sulaseh branch.
May the heart that is angry be shut!
May the heart that is kind be opened!
Aje, eje, eche, echa.
A young lulang springs up in the waste ground.
I am wicked—I am applauded.
I do wrong—I am reverenced.
Why say, amongst mankind
Two-footed, five-toed?
Whilst even the white elephant—
The streaked elephant beyond the sea—
Reverses its hair, reverses its tusks,
Reverses its trunk, reverses its feet,
Reverses its front legs, reverses its veins,
Reverses its flesh, reverses its blood,
Bows down reverentially to the little toe of my left foot.
My oil, pressed out, runs down at the side of the door.
The young *ngang* bird is in the mid of the bambu.
I strike it with a sumpitan.
The sun is lifted up on my up-brows.
The waves of the sea roll on my tongue.

The ants follow each other on my lips.
Abase, God! abase, Mahomed!
Abase, royal prophet of God!"

"INVOCATION OF THE TONGUE-BREAKER.

"Dry betel-nut, dried up betel-nut—
Cut by the foot of an elephant—
His heart's blood I lack, his bones I break, break.
Heh, God! Heh, Mahomed! Heh, royal prophet of God!
May the prayer for breaking of the tongue be granted,
That I may break the tongues of enemies, foes, and assailants.
Be you soft; be I hard.
La illahha il Allah! bless my use of the prayer of the tongue-breaker."

"INVOCATION TO EXCITE HATRED.

"Shoots of the hate-plant, leaves of the hate-plant. I pluck seven stalks, seven leaves. I cut them seven times, and cut the heart of [*such an one, naming him*]. Look upon that person as you look upon ashes, as you look upon a swamp. Sitting hate, sleeping hate, walking hate, eating hate, bathing hate, drinking hate. Come, shadow of [*such an one*]. Until three days are passed, hate to look on [*such an one*]. Look on me alone, surpassingly sweet, as if you saw that which shone brightly on my face! Twelve days when the sun

descends, let your spirit descend together with it. When the sun rises, let the spirit of [*such an one*] rise together with it!"

"INVOCATION TO EXCITE HATRED.

"Shoots of Beruwang intermix with the leaves of the hate-plant. By faith and sacrifice, carry away the heart within, with excessive hatred. When you stand, hate [*such an one*]. When you walk, hate [*such an one*]. When you sleep, hate [*such an one*]. Speak not of mankind while even grass, twigs, and trees, altogether hate to look on [*such an one*]. Descend brightness in my face. If the night brighten, then shall the face of [*such an one*] brighten. If the night do not brighten, the face of [*such an one*] shall not brighten. I cause to descend the oil of sweetness. I cause to rise the invocation of hatred.

"Hate! all people, all mankind.

"Descend! sweetness of [*such an one*].

"Rise! prayer of hatred, on the face of [*such an one*]. Hate entirely all that breathe! to look on the face [*of such an one*], to hear the voice [*of such an one*]."

"A SPELL USED WHEN ABOUT TO ATTACK AN ELEPHANT.

"Hong, quake!—ghost, quake! I wish to cast down, I wish to strike. Go to the left—go to the right. I cast out the ghost, quake." The elephant

murmurs. The elephant wallows on the opposite side of the lake. The pot boils, the pan boils, at the opposite side of the point. Go to the left—go to the right—go to the water-vessel, ghost of grandfather [*the elephant to wit*]. I let loose the fingers of my hand."

"ANOTHER.

"My grandfather's to me, mine to my grandfather. My smell, smell of water; my smell, smell of leaf; my smell, smell of earth; my smell, smell of grandfather; my smell, smell of mud; eating pinang mixture, I shut grandfather's nose; hind foot do not rise—hind foot is heavy; fore foot do not rise—fore foot is heavy, as if there was hung a split stone; as if a water-jar were hung; move stone with more fore feet of grandfather; move together; move entrails; receive the fingers and hand of grandchild, grandfather!"

"CHARM TO ALLAY STORMS.

"*Rambong perangoan batong*; the elephant gathers in, the elephant wallowing, wallowing on the opposite side of the sea; go to the right—go to the left; I break the hurricane."

"ON ENTERING A FOREST.

"Go to the left—go to the right—all my enemies, opponents, and assailants! May your regards be cast aside from me! May I walk alone!"

"For Protection against the Hantu Saburu.

"What is your name, dog? Sokom is your name, black dog. Your master's name is Water. Your master's name is Riddang. Your master's name is Forest. Begone; go you away; take your dog away. What do you hunt here? There are no hogs—no deer. The nostrils are shut—the smell of your nose I have charmed; my smell the wind carries away."

"For protection against the Hantu Kapietu or Remittent Fever.

"Hong! fever—primitive fever, fly away: be plucked out, uncharmed, bilantok. I cast a charm for fever on your head. I throw it upon your head. Lose the fever. May it be thrown away upon your head."

"Tankal Kambong.

"First essential of life! primitive life! the devil's life have I charmed. The life that lodges have I charmed. The life that is affected have I charmed. I cast out the hard (evil) life. Let your spirit, the spirit of your life, rise and be lifted up, all the life in your belly, in your body, spring up and be drawn out. I replace all your life!"

"Armlets are much used. They are formed of pieces of kunyit, bangle, and other substances, strung on a shred of trap-bark, and bound round

the neck, wrists, and waist. They are preservatives against demons, bad winds, and generally against all evils.

"There are spells for rendering the person who uses them invulnerable; but the fortunate possessors are careful not to impart them to others."

The above short extracts must suffice for the purposes of my book. It will be seen from them that these savages have constructed for themselves as complete a system of demonology and occult arts, as had the witches of Macbeth. Their spiritual state is akin to their temporal condition, prostrate and degraded as it is. What appears to their imaginations as sacred and venerable, to the scion of civilization is nothing but sordid and grovelling superstition. Civilization has no time for these trifles. A railway train must not stop because a bird flies across the rails; nor must the seed of the agriculturist be kept from being put into the ground in deference to the Jin Bumi (spirit of the earth).

CHAPTER III.

THE MALAY AMOK.

THERE are two kinds of Amok—the Amok of the battle-field, and the Amok of the peaceful city or village. Were a Malay to witness the headlong rush of a forlorn hope against the bristling breach of a besieged city, he would call it an "amok." Had a Malay viewed Napoleon on the bridge of Lodi, he would have said that he "amoked," or, as the English call it, he had "run a muck." In the descriptions of battles, the Malay historians make their greatest heroes terrible amokers; and, by so doing, they ascribe to them desperate bravery. "Amok" means to rush furiously, with a weapon, to slay or kill. This is the Malay "amok" of the battle-field.

The "amok" of the peaceful city or village has other features. It has not the brilliancy of bravery, but the darkness of insanity, as its instigator. Thus, if the maniac were to slay father or mother, wife or children (and this sometimes happens in happy England)

the Malay would say that he "amoked." During many years' residence in Malayan lands, I had only personal knowledge of three or four amoks in city or village; but I never witnessed one, so they cannot be said to be frequent. The peculiar feature of this species of "amok" is in the indiscriminate slaughter of all persons encountered by the maniac, and the cause of this is not to be ascribed to the maniac, but to the crowded state of native villages, and the gregarious mode of life of some of their inhabitants. In England, people dwell in walled and secure houses and rooms; a dangerous maniac's career is confined to these; but, as the Malay may be said to live in the open air, the maniac Malay is more widely dangerous. As to the comparative frequency of amoks in Malayan lands, this fact must be borne in mind — that here idiots and maniacs have no hospitals provided for them. In England, where the appliances of civilization are so abundant, dangerous symptoms are watched by friends, or by the police; and the unfortunate subjects are put out of the way of doing harm to themselves, or others, by incarceration. It must, at the same time, be admitted that the Malays have a guilty habit of speaking of "amoking" with morbid gusto, and their custom of constantly wearing the kris, makes them dangerous when the affliction of insanity, or the excitement of *bang*, or opium, are upon them.

The following extracts will more clearly illustrate

the nature of the Malay amok.* I need make few remarks further than to correct the misapprehensions of the English judge whose fanatic and merciless sentence is happily a rarity.

The calamity of the amok was known to the Malays long before Mahomedanism was introduced amongst them. Their histories prove that the Malays amoked when their religion was idolatrous. The members of no religion are free from the harrowing calamity of insanity. This is well understood in Great Britain, where asylums are so plentiful. In England, justice would have been tempered with mercy in such a case as that which I am about to relate. An English jury would not have convicted a man who was bereft of reason, as this man was, nor would an English judge have hanged and mutilated a lunatic, in whom there could be no "malice aforethought."

"On the 8th of July, 1846, Sunan, a respectable Malay housebuilder in Penang, ran 'amok' (ran a muck) in Chuliah-street and Penang-road; and, before he was arrested, killed an old Hindoo woman, a Kling, a Chinese boy, and a Kling girl about three years old, in the arms of its father, and wounded two Hindoos, three Klings, and two Chinese, of whom only two survived. At his trial it appeared that he was greatly afflicted by the recent loss of his wife and child, which preyed upon his mind, and quite altered his appearance. A

* See "Journ. Indian Archipelago," vol. iii., p. 460.

person with whom he had lived up to the 15th of June, said further: 'He used to bring his child to his work; since its death he has worked for me; he often said he could not work, as he was afflicted by the loss of his child. I think he was out of his mind; he did not smoke or drink; I think he was mad.' On the morning of the 'amok' this person met him, and asked him to work at his boat. He replied, 'that he could not, as he was very much afflicted.' He had his hands concealed under his clothes: he frequently exclaimed 'Allah! Allah!' He daily complained of the loss of his wife and child. On the trial, Sunan declared that he did not know what he was about, and persisted in this at his execution, adding, 'As the gentlemen say I have committed so many murders, I suppose it must be so.' The 'amok' took place on the 8th, the trial on the 13th, and the execution on the 15th July—all within eight days! The following is the sentence of death upon Sunan, convicted of running 'amok,' by Sir William Norris, Recorder:—

"Sunan, you stand convicted, on the clearest evidence, of the wilful murder of Pakir Sah, on Wednesday last; and it appears that, on the same occasion, you stabbed no less than ten other unfortunate persons, only two of whom are at present surviving. It now becomes my duty to pass on you the last sentence of the law. I can scarcely call it a painful duty, for the blood of your innocent victims cries aloud for vengeance; and both justice

and humanity would be shocked were you permitted to escape the infamy of a public execution. God Almighty alone, the great searcher of hearts, can tell precisely what passed in that wretched heart of yours before and at the time you committed those atrocious deeds; nor is it necessary for the ends of justice that we should perfectly comprehend the morbid views and turbulent passions by which you must have been actuated. It is enough for us to know that you, like all other murderers, had not the fear of God before your eyes; and that you acted of malice aforethought, and by the instigation of the devil himself, who was a murderer from the beginning. But all the atrocities that you have committed are of a peculiar character, and such as are never perpetrated by Christians, Hindoos, Chinese, or any other class than Mahomedans, especially Malays, among whom they are frightfully common, and therefore may be justly recorded, by way of infamous distinction, as *Mahomedan murders*. I think it right, therefore, seeing so great a concourse of Mahomedans in and about the Court, to take this opportunity of endeavouring to disabuse their minds, and your own, of any false notions of courage, heroism, or self-devotion which Mahomedans possibly, but Mahomedans alone, of all mankind, can ever attach to such base, cowardly, and brutal murders—notions which none but the devil himself, the father of lies, could ever have inspired. But if such false, execrable, and dangerous

delusions really are entertained by any men, or body of men, whatever, it may be as well to show, from the gloomy workings of your mind, so far as circumstances have revealed them, that not a particle of manly courage or heroism could have animated you, or can ever animate any man who lifts his cowardly hand against helpless women and children. You had lately, it seems, been greatly afflicted by the sudden deaths of your wife and only child, and God forbid that I should needlessly harrow up your feelings by reverting to the subject. I do so merely because it serves, in some degree, to explain the dreadful tragedy for which you are now about to answer with your life. Unable or unwilling to submit with patience to the affliction with which it had pleased God to visit you, you abandoned yourself to discontent and despair, until shortly before the bloody transaction, when you went to the mosque *to pray!*—to pray to whom, and to what? Not to senseless idols of wood or stone, which Christians and Mahomedans equally abominate—but to the one omniscient and almighty and all-merciful God, in whom alone Christians and Mahomedans profess to believe! But in what spirit did you pray, if you prayed at all? Did you pray for resignation, or ability to humble yourself under the mighty hand of God? Impossible! You may have gone to curse in your heart, and gnash with your teeth; but certainly not to pray, whatever unmeaning sentences of the Koran may

have issued from your lips. Doubtless you entered the mosque with a heart full of haughty pride, anger, and rebellion against your Maker, and so no wonder that you sallied forth again overflowing with hatred and malice against your innocent fellow-creatures; no wonder that, when thus abandoned to the devil, you stabbed with equal cruelty, cowardice, and ferocity, unarmed and helpless men, women, and children, who had never injured, never known, probably never seen you before.

"Such are the murders which Mahomedans alone have been found capable of committing. Not that I mean to brand Mahomedans in general as worse than all other men—far from it; I believe there are many good men among them—as good as men can be who are ignorant of the only true religion. I merely state the fact that such atrocities disgrace no other creed, let the Mahomedans account for the fact as they may; but whatever may be the true explanation, whether these fiendish excesses are the result of fanaticism, superstition, over-anxiety, pride, or ungovernable rage, or (which is probable) of all combined,—public justice demands that the perpetrators should be visited with the severest and most disgraceful punishment which the law can inflict.

"The sentence of the court therefore is, that you, Sunan, be remanded to the place from whence you came, and that on the morning of Wednesday next you be drawn from thence on a hurdle to the place

of execution, and there hanged by the neck until you are dead. Your body will then be handed over to the superior for dissection, and your mangled limbs, instead of being restored to your friends for decent interment, will be cast into the sea, thrown into a ditch, or scattered on the earth at the discretion of the sheriff. And may God Almighty have mercy on your miserable soul!"

A terrible sentence, and not in the spirit of English law, which admits not of the "cry for vengeance." The editor of the journal of the 'Indian Archipelago' remarks upon it as follows:—

"The picture which we have above presented suggests many reflections pointing different ways, some exceedingly painful, which we suppress. Is it well that justice should so closely imitate revenge as almost to kill the criminal red-handed? Is it well that justice should proceed to the execution of its office while the blood of the victim is hardly yet dry, and its cry too powerful to permit of a calm and deliberate exercise of the judgment? Had the trial not followed so rapidly on the crime, is it not possible that a different view might have been taken of the condition of mind under which the criminal acted? But passing these, and some still graver thoughts, let us ask if a government which merely kills a Malay who runs 'amok' does its duty? Is this killing, which it does perform, any benefit to society? and is there nothing which it fails to perform that might tend to put an end to

these dreadful tragedies? These amoks result from an idiosyncracy, or peculiar temperament common amongst Malays—a temperament which all who have had intercourse with them must have observed, although they cannot account for, or thoroughly understand. It consists in a proneness to chronic disease of feeling, resulting from a want of moral elasticity, which leaves the mind a prey to the pain of grief, until it is filled with a malignant gloom and despair, and the whole horizon of existence is overcast with blackness. If the reader thinks we have sketched the progress of a monomaniac, we answer that the great majority of *peng-amoks* are monomaniacs."

Then follow certain suggestions as to the measures the English Government might introduce to eradicate *amoks and piracies*. But these are too wide fields of speculation—too wide to be discussed here. The sanguine but philanthropic suggestions of the learned Editor I fear must wait practical attainment till the time when a new London, a new Paris, a new Washington, and a new St. Petersburg have been reared on the shores of the North Pacific, whose energetic and enterprising inhabitants have been brought into close juxtaposition to regions of the Far East. Then may a European and Christianizing influence penetrate each Pulo, Silat, and Tulloh (islet, strait, and bay), giving to the well-disposed peace, and to the well-doing plenty. Work, healthy work, is the great want of the native

of Malayan lands. The busy habits of the European being diffused amongst the listless and apathetic Malaynesian would set them to work for some useful purpose, and keep them out of mischief. The Dutch have done *much towards this* end in Java.

CHAPTER IV.

SLAVERY.

SLAVERY, as an institution amongst a people, is an evidence of their having entered into the second grade of the human family. In the infancy of a nation, in their primeval savage state, there can be no organization of society, no individual property, no artificial wants. All must be in a state of brute equality. There can be no property even in a slave. As long as the mere satisfying of hunger is the only ambition or necessity, all the individuals of a tribe may remain in a state of equality; no one need have precedence over the other. But, as the tribe grows in numbers, and the area whence they derive their subsistence narrows proportionately, then will the strong and the brave have an advantage over the weak and cowardly. Equality will then end, and the powerful will expand his consequence and consult his ease by enslaving his neighbour. The wars of tribes consequent upon their increase of numbers, and collisions of interests,

will afford a supply of human helps, or slaves to maintain that consequence and ease. When this takes place the second step is taken in the growth of human families—in their course towards becoming a nation. Slavery is the proof of that progress, such as it is.

Slavery must consequently be a very ancient institution, preceding the coinage of money, or other medium of exchange. For where there was no money to pay, labour had not yet a market. Slavery will be found to have permeated all tribes that have advanced beyond the aboriginal state, from Scandinavia to New Zealand, and from Labrador to Cape Horn. It cannot be denied to be useful in its time and age; and there are doubts as to its being sinful. It is to a young nation what manure is to the growing vegetable, of disagreeable odour, but stimulating in its effects. When the mind of a nation is young, and its moral perceptions yet blunt, slavery grates not on the nerves of the public. Its effects, on such a nation, are eminently utilitarian; its results bring wealth to the upper stratum of society and power to the leaders of the people. It is an industrial resource for creating raw produce, or goods for barter. It supports and strengthens a growing community. Slavery, in its national age, is nurtured by the amiable, sustained by the good, upheld by the religious. It is hugged, caressed, and clung to, as the most valued of institutions, by the patriotic.

Slavery extends to the middle period of a people's progress towards true greatness. The last step in a nation's progress to the higher phase to which a people are permitted to attain ignores slavery and casts it off as an accursed thing. A nation refined by literature, arts, and science, illuminated by books, periodicals, and newspapers—a nation in which the people, from highest to lowest, are capable of reading, writing, and understanding,—and who, from lord to peasant, watch and ponder on passing events—can have no slaves amongst them. Slavery could not exist a day amongst such, nor is it necessary, where there is general activity and intelligence, aided by machinery and ingenious contrivances,—where the lowest manual labour is made into skilled labour, there must be abundant recompense to the holder. In such a community or nation the artificial appliances bring comfort and plenty—at the same time an universal necessity for exertion in every individual. Here labour is rapidly exchanged for its representative — money — and money must be exchanged for food where money is paid for labour. How could unpaid slavery exist amongst such a people? Were there slaves, the constant precept and example of the multitude would make serfdom unbearable—death rather than slavery would soon be courted.

Abundant examples in the terrestrial globe in this year, 1864, could be pointed out of tribes and nations in the three states of mankind. Slavery

will be only found in the middle state as I have described it. Abundant examples could be drawn from the history of past ages, in the same manner; but we must avoid this inquiry. Suffice it to say that slavery has given trouble to the world from the times of Abraham, the father of the faithful, and long previously, down to Abraham Lincoln, the father of the faithless; and I fear it will continue to do so.

But to return to my subject: Slavery in the Far East. It has existed from time immemorial in the Malayan Archipelago, and to within recent dates has been participated in by European powers, within British territories; though abolished by law, it was in many parts yet in practical existence amongst the natives. The Asiatic, with surprising facility, complies in form with what appear to him the whims and caprices of his European lawgiver; and, while he does so, he contrives to cling to the customs of his ancestors. As an instance of this, I may allude to my observations in Province Wellesley, in the Malay Peninsula. Here most, if not all the leading natives, held men and women, whom they termed amongst themselves hamba (or slave), but whom they called, when speaking to Europeans, orang ber utang (or debtors). These were held to service in a manner much akin to that of slavery. The leading natives, twenty-five years ago, seldom or never employed labourers on wages—but they retained about their villages numerous slave debtors,

who, having been bought or transferred with a certain debt upon them, had to give their time and labour to the creditor by way of paying the interest of the debt. This was another mode of avoiding *in name* the taking of interest, which Mahomedans consider unlawful. Thus the slave debtor cultivated a certain tract of his master creditor's estate, giving all the produce to his superior, excepting what was enough for his own maintenance. Further, the slave debtor was bound to be at his superior's call, at any moment by night or by day. And such was the moral turpitude of the lower classes of natives, that even if freed by design or accident, a few months would not pass over their heads before they had sold themselves again into this species of bondage. They did this to gain a livelihood, for they found themselves too lazy to do this for themselves without having the spur of a master to urge them to work Slavery appeared to be natural to them; and, in this light species of it, they seemed to be comfortable and contented under the yoke.

Traffic in slaves was put down by British law under very severe penalties. The wealthier classes of natives, therefore, (no doubt under legal advice,) kept clear of the pains and penalties by the invention of debtor servants. This did not prevent the transfer of these debtor servants, from one master to another; nor did the ignorant subject of the transaction feel aggrieved at this usage. But no doubt the ugly features of the traffic, such as it was

within British territory, were much alleviated by the knowledge of its illegality on the part of the masters. The price of a slave-debtor was, twenty-five years ago, about twelve Spanish dollars, which might represent the annual value of the labour of such slave. It will thus be seen that the investment returned cent. per cent. per annum by way of interest on the capital—a usury in which the Mahomedans had no objection to participate. Isolated instances of cruelty to slaves have come under my notice; but, on the whole, they led an easy and thoughtless life. They were not subjected, as in Anglo-Saxon America, to work ten hours every day, with the lash at their backs.

The climate of the Far East is an effectual barrier, as far as human eye can see, to the real progress of the natives in their path towards civilization or true freedom. The hot tepid climate weakens the body, and palls the energies, affecting the mind with listlessness and apathy; and, when the mind is not strong enough to govern the body, as Abdulla bin Abdul-Kader correctly remarks, the individual is only fit to be the slave of another. The natives of the tropics concur in this sentiment, and abandon themselves to the institution of slavery in their social system.

The effect on families indulging in slave-holding, is to deteriorate their position and ultimately to drag them down and immerse them in the sordid crowd. The slaves too often have intimate ties

with the master's family, and the son of a slave becomes the head of a house. In Great Britain, where purity of descent is so highly valued—where lord or baron counts back many centuries of legitimate descent, and where even the peasant tells of generations of honest though it may be humble forefathers, there is a conservatism highly honourable. Slavery in a community soon dissipates conservatism of this class, and lowers the proud, the wealthy, and the noble, to the level of a prostrate, sunken, and ignoble race.

Between natives of the temperate and torrid zones there must always remain a difference of sentiment on this important subject—a difference irreconcilable. In a country such as Great Britain, where the purity of family ties, the modesty of women, and the faithfulness of husbands are so highly estimated, there can be no agreement of sentiment with the men of many wives and numerous concubines. To the one, the introduction of the slave element into a household would be a source of the greatest anxiety and trouble; to the other, it is simply the natural state of things in their social system. What is called morality in England has no meaning or office there—hence the difference. Families in Great Britain are preserved for generations. Families in India spring up and die like Jonah's gourd. Slavery is a comfortable institution to the latter. It panders to the appetite of the day, for to-morrow they are not.

CHAPTER V.

POLYGAMY.

POLYGAMY is the sister of slavery, and is unknown in the primitive state of savageness of infant communities; and polygamy is to monogamy in the human race what fire is to water in the elements; it is utterly opponent in principle. Both principles may permeate the whole earth, from the frigid to the torrid zones, in certain conditions of the human populations; but, generally speaking, polygamy is the institution of warm climates—monogamy that of temperate zones. On these subjects, as on slavery, irreconcilable differences of opinion will be found between the intellectual native of the north and the sensual native of the south. Plant monogamy as an institution in the heart of Africa, or in the southern plains of Asia, and leave it to stand without the external support, countenance, and nurture of European influence and example, and it would quickly wither and die out. In the same way, plant the institution of polygamy amongst a civilized northern nation, and its days would be

short. It would have the fate of an exotic; it would quickly perish. Either institution is affected by the mutations of tribes on the earth. Thus polygamy is dying out amongst the northern Mahomedans and Turks, while it is reviving amongst the Southern and Anglo-Saxon Christians of the United States. Mormonism has sprung out of the enervating climate of the basin of the Mississippi, and Utah is now a recognized state of the New World.

In these two important phases of human existence, as in the case of slavery, much depends on climate and the physical condition of the people. Looking at the almost universal existence of polygamy over the ancient known world, as well mediæval as modern, we have reason to exclaim, that it is a great event in the history of a people, tribe, or nation, when their women assert their true dignity, and demand the institution of monogamy. To attain this position she must bring with her unsullied chastity, keen moral and intellectual perceptions. These are not the gifts of the women of all nations; and, consequently, where she has them not, her power is weakened, and her fair interests are sacrificed.

It is a universal truth that woman's interests and aspirations are founded on chastity. This is triumphantly the case in all regions. Yet the soil of her birth is not always kindly. In the regions of the tropics, and adjacent latitudes, her want of physical strength fails to support her force of character,

a burning climate prematurely destroys her beauty and her power to please. In her weaknesses and early decay she attains not to the proud and distinguished position occupied by her sisters of the Far North.

These circumstances particularly strike the observer on his return from a long sojourn in the tropics, when he mixes again amongst the circles of North Western Europe. As a simple and practical illustration, I remember, when spending some months in the chaste and frigid metropolis of North Britain, I attempted to describe to an intellectual, it may be over-strait-laced, young lady the manners and customs of the Chinese household. She was curious to know the arrangements, not only of the household economy, but of the social economy. Her questions at length dipped into the secret chambers of the harem. I acknowledged personal ignorance, but detailed the information obtained from the many and familar conversations with my Celestial friends Chan Guan, Kockchai, and others. I was innocently explicit in stating the humble relation of the wives of the Chinese to their lords and masters—their subjection, close confinement, and rigid seclusion from society. I spared her feelings by excluding the concubines from my descriptions. I say I was innocently describing the condition of her Chinese sisters, when suddenly she arose, and, with an air of offended dignity, exclaimed, "Sure, Sir, you don't wear a tail?"

Startled at her vehemence, I remarked, "Pardon me, Madame, your position is a highly honourable and privileged one, and I do not wonder at the disgust you evince on your hearing of the condition of your Far Eastern sisters." The behaviour of this young lady has often recurred to my memory as being highly characteristic of her descent from the ancient virtuous German dames, and I honoured her accordingly. It is this spirit, maintained by the conscious power of such high gifts as purity of mind and nobleness of intellect, that dashes the libertinism of polygamy to the dust, and makes it a filthy, unclean, degraded thing.

Now, let us turn to the other side, viz.,—Polygamy in the Far East. The institution may be said to be universal there. The Pagans observe no other law. The Mahomedans are restricted to four wives by their laws; but, curiously enough, they may have no end of concubines. Thus they reverse the European laws of morality. In the Asiatic independent states, and in the outlying settlements, Europeans very generally availed themselves of the license of the country, and gradually became natives in manners, mind, and habits; but in the larger English settlements, marriage with their country-women, or with Anglo-Indians, was becoming gradually more common than it used to be. In the early days of European settlement in the Far East, the practices of their fathers were less observed than the license of the Asiatics. And what was

the cause of this state of things? This question can scarcely be understood in Europe. It has often been discussed by travellers, as well as by theorists: let me see if I can make my own observations lucid:—

That the native women of the Far East are utterly uneducated is no reason why they should either inherit virtue or vice; for history tells us that the virtuous German dames were also unacquainted with letters. We must look to other causes to account for their institutions. The women of the Far East are marriageable at the age of eleven years. At this age their parents so little trust to the *mind* of their child being able to control her *desires*, that they get her disposed of, either by marriage or by sale. At the age of twenty the woman is the mother of a family. At twenty-five, she is becoming wrinkled. At thirty, she is becoming withered. She may be a great-grandmother at forty; and by the time she is fifty, she may be the *mat arch* over several generations.

Between eleven and fifteen she is in her prime. At this time she commands her husband's attentions, but not his respect; and, being mindless, she does not gain an influence (at least, rarely). Thus, as years flow rapidly by, affection cools, the wrinkles, leprosy, scrofula, and cutaneous diseases so common amongst the natives of the tropics, make sad havoc on the living woman that was once beautiful. The husband can no longer draw to himself the mindless

thing, whose decayed and diseased outward form repels him; and thus the connection ends. The old wife is put on the shelf; another creature takes her turn in the harem. This is a practical exposition of polygamy. Burning with sensuality to-day; cold, unfeeling, petrifying, to-morrow. This is an European's views. But the Asiatics are less sensitive. Their social system has run in different grooves, from time immemorial; what is expected, jars not; both actors sink down to the fate that inexorable custom and habit dictate.

We may ask, when will the woman of the Far East attain to the position of the woman of Christian Europe, and demand of the man, "Wilt thou love me, comfort me, and keep me in sickness and in health, and, forsaking all others, keep me only unto thee, so long as both shall live?" Echo answers—When?

While discussing these subjects, let us make a few general observations before leaving them. The ancient historian Herodotus mentions that the Issedones, a far Northern race, were "*accounted just, and the women have equal authority with the men.* (Melpomene, 26.) If such were true then, we may depend upon it that the women had neither their feelings nor their interests sacrificed to the whims and lusts of their male countrymen. Chastity in the married life would be one of the institutions of the old Issedones. At that same old period, polygamy was indulged in by the Greeks, Jews, and Egyptians,

and, it may be, by all Southern Europeans; and this custom was handed down to the times of Tacitus, who, in his 'Germanica,' remarks that the Germans "*alone, among almost all barbarians, are content with a single wife.*" Amongst northern Christians, polygamy has received no support, though in particular instances it has been suggested. Thus Bernardus Ochinus, in the 16th century, published "Dialogues in favour of Polygamy." The same institution was favoured in modern times by the Rev. W. Madan, in his 'Thelyphthora.' (Brit. Encyclo.)

Notwithstanding these specks on a bright horizon, polygamy has had no seat in Northern Europe. "Germany, the mother of northern nations," says Gibbon, "in her ancient and primeval ages, reared men who were brave, and brought forth women that were chaste. Divorces were prohibited by manners rather than by law. Adultery was punished as a rare and unexpiable crime. The Germans treated their wives with esteem and confidence, consulted them on every affair of consequence. Conscious pride taught the German matrons to suppress every tender emotion which stood in competition with honour, and the first honour of the sex ever has been that of chastity.* * * * * The warlike Germans who first resisted, then invaded, and at length overturned, the western monarchy of Rome," Gibbon adds, "will occupy a much more important place in this history ('The Decline and Fall of the Roman

Empire'), and possess a stronger and, if we may use the expression, a more democratic claim to our attention and regard. The most civilized nations of modern Europe issued from the woods of Germany; and, in the rude institutions of these barbarians, we may still distinguish the original principles of our present laws and manners."

To this the more modern writer may add that, in glancing at the whole world, how largely has it not been affected by the brave and virtuous German element? Scan the wide-spreading colonies, and there that element will be found implanted by the most civilized nations of modern Europe—the offspring of Germany. Observe how their influence has spread westward from Anglo-Saxon Britain, across the Atlantic to New Plymouth, thence over boundless regions to the North Pacific. The people planted over broad North America emulate the virtues of fatherland, and perpetuate her chaste institutions. Eastward the same, or at least a cognate race, it may be the children of the ancient Issedones, spreads its influences; it is true, more sparsely from the Baltic to the Sea of Okhotsh, thence across Behring's Straits to Sitka. A people adhering to homogeneous principles has spread over and taken root in all these regions—the better half of the whole globe; and on they will proceed, over all temperate latitudes, supplanting and driving before them the debasing institutions of such Mahomedan and Pagan nations as stand in their

way. South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand are being planted with the same principles and people; and South America, from the La Plata to Cape Horn, will, ere long, follow in their wake.

Keith Johnstone, in his Moral and Statistical Chart, shows the regions of the separate religious beliefs. It is a most interesting document. The antipathy of oil to water could not be more lucidly represented than by his drops of Christians amongst the seas of Pagans and Mahomedans. A similar chart, representing the areas of the opponent elements of the human system, viz.,—the institutions of polygamy and monogamy,—would be a fit subject for the art of that great geographer. Let us imagine how it would look:—A comparatively narrow belt of monogamy would be sure to stretch from California to Newfoundland, holding near the banks of the Satcachawan and the St. Lawrence on its northern borders, and filtering southwards to Arkansas and Tennessee. Again, a broader belt would be seen to stretch from western Europe to Obi, thence in intervals to Kamschatcka, holding by the Arctic Ocean in its northern borders, and near to the Mediterranean and Black Seas southwards. The above regions are the great seats of monogamy; in all other parts it would be represented on a map by small dots, the largest of which would be found in South Africa, Australia, Chili, and La Plata. Over all the boundless regions of Central America and Africa, a portion of Southern Europe, and all

Southern Asia, there would be seen small dots of monogamy at wide intervals, for here and there Mahomedan or Pagan polygamy does not prevail, but Christian polygamy is found amongst the inhabitants.

Thus polygamy, or its analogous feature polygyny, has its distinctly marked regions, and it will be seen at a glance that monogamy is the native of temperate latitudes—polygamy that of warm regions. The line of division could be drawn on one of Mercator's maps with little divergence from actual truth; and, like the atmosphere in which we live and have our breath, human sentiment, on these vital principles of society, will be found to have its birthplaces, its directions, progressions, calms and storms. And in the borders they will be found to rage and war with each other, as the sirocco does against the north wind, breaking in here like the typhoon, destroying God's people, and bursting out yonder like the changing monsoon, spreading devastation in their paths.

CHAPTER VI.

MAHOMEDAN PROSELYTISM.

The Editor of "The Journal of the Indian Archipelago" (Vol. iii., page 457) says, "To ascertain the influence of Mahomedanism on the lives and literature of the Malays, and other Islamized inhabitants of the Archipelago, we shall from time to time draw the attention of our readers to such of the principles, doctrines, habits, traditions, and literature of Mahomedanism as appear to us to exercise or illustrate its influence. In this, as in other parts of our miscellaneous contributions and extracts, we shall aim at presenting the impressions made on different orders of minds by the facts observed in connection with the subject, sometimes with and sometimes without comments of our own. This apposition of views will excite more interest, and be more likely to lead to true conclusions, than the mere explanation of our own opinions. Besides, the subject is a complex one, and needs many minds to apprehend it in its various phases.

"WHY HAVE MAHOMEDAN BEEN MORE SUCCESSFUL THAN CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES IN THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO?"

"Many circumstances contributed to frustrate the effects of their zeal. The instructors were ignorant of the language, the habits, and manners of the natives. The manners of Europe were at direct variance with those of the East: the Europeans, by their intemperance, and, above all, by their avarice and rapacity, brought their religion into odium; and it happened unluckily, that, but a very little time before the commencement of their intercourse, the people of the Archipelago had received a new religion, more popular, because introduced with more skill, and under circumstances more agreeable to the genius of their character, state of society, and temporal prosperity. Had not, however, the violence, injustice, and rapacity of the first Europeans estranged the natives from their worship, they were still in time enough; for scarcely was the Mahomedan religion anywhere fully established. The greater number of the people of the Moluccas and neighbouring isles were Pagans; so were many of the Javanese, and even many of the inhabitants of Malacca.

"The success of the Mahomedan missionaries contrasted with the failure of the Christian; it is not difficult to trace the true cause. The Arabs and other Mahomedan missionaries conciliated the

natives of the country—acquired their language—followed their manners—intermarried with them—and melting into the mass of the people, did not, on the one hand, give rise to a privileged race, nor, on the other, to a degraded caste. Their superiority of intelligence and civilization was employed only for the instruction and conversion of a people the current of whose religious opinions was ready to be directed into any channel with which it could be skilfully diverted. They were merchants, as well as the Europeans, but never dreamt of having recourse to the iniquitous measure of plundering *the people* of the produce of their soil and industry. This was the cause which led to the success of the Mahomedans, and it was naturally the very opposite course which led to the defeat of the Christians. The Europeans in the Indian Archipelago have been just what the Turks have been in Europe; and the consequence of the policy pursued by both may fairly be quoted as parallel cases.

"JOHN CRAWFURD."

"THE TRUTH AND POWER THAT IS IN "MAHOMEDANISM.

"But there is another thing to be said about the Mahomedan heaven and hell:—this; namely, that however gross and material they may be, they are an emblem of an everlasting truth, not always remembered so well elsewhere. That gross sensual paradise of his—that horrible flaming hell—the

great enormous day of judgment he perpetually insists in—what is all this but a rude shadow in the rude Bedouin imagination, of that grand spiritual fact and beginning of facts which it is ill for us, too, if we do not all know and feel—the infinite nature of duty? That man's actions here are of infinite moment to him, and never die or end at all? that man, with his little life, reaches upwards as high as heaven, downwards low as hell? and, in his three score years of time, holds an eternity fearfully and wonderfully hidden? All this had burnt itself, as in flame characters, into the wild Arab soul. As in flame and lightning it stands written there—awful—unspeakable—ever present to him. With bursting earnestness, with a fierce, savage sincerity—half articulating, yet not able to articulate—he strives to speak it—bodies it forth in that heaven and hell. Bodied forth in what way you will, it is the first of all truths. It is venerable under all embodiments. What is the chief end of man here below? Mahomed has answered this question in a way that might put some of us to shame. He does not, like a Bentham, or a Paley, take right and wrong, and calculate the profit and loss, the ultimate pleasure of one or the other, and, summing up all, by addition and subtraction, into a net result, ask you whether, on the whole, the right does not preponderate considerably? No, it is not better to do the one than the other: the one is to the other as life is to death—as heaven is to hell.

The one must in nowise be done; the other in nowise be left undone. You shall not measure them; they are incommensurable: the one is death eternal to man, the other is life eternal. Benthamic utility, virtue by profit and loss; reducing this God's world to a dead brute steam-engine, the infinite celestial soul of man to a kind of hay-balance, for weighing hay and thistles on, pleasures and pains on. If you ask me which gives, Mahomed or they, the beggarlier and falser view of man and his destinies in this universe, I will answer, it is not Mahomed!

"On the whole, we will repeat that the religion of Mahomed is a kind of Christianity;—has a genuine element of what is spiritually highest looking through it, not to be hidden by all its imperfections. The Scandinavian God *with* the God of all rude men—this has been enlarged into a heaven by Mahomed; but a heaven symbolical of sacred duty, and to be earned by faith and well-doing—by valiant action, and a divine patience, which is still more valiant. It is Scandinavian paganism, and a truly celestial element superadded to that. Call it not false; look not at the falsehood of it—look at the truth of it. For these twelve centuries it has been the religion and life-guidance of the fifth part of the whole kindred of mankind. Above all things, it has been a religion heartily *believed*. These Arabs believe their religion, and try to live by it! No Christians since

the early ages—or only perhaps the English Puritans in modern times—have ever stood by their faith as the Moslems do by theirs, believing it wholly, fronting time and eternity with it. This night the watchman on the streets of Cairo, when he cries, 'Who goes?' will hear from the passenger, along with his answer, 'There is no God, but God.' *Allah akbar Islam* sounds through the souls and whole daily existence of these dusky millions. Zealous missionaries preach it abroad among the Malays, black Papuans, brutal idolators; displacing what is worse, but nothing that is better, or as good.'

"THOMAS CARLYLE."

It is double-distilled impertinence in a humble and unknown Author to call in question the *dicta* of such great men; but as my judgment leads me to differ, I will put my sentiments on paper, for, with all my obscurity, I can plead the experience of very close and intimate knowledge of Asiatic Mahomedans, which neither of these two can do.

Crawfurd appears to attribute the want of success of Christian missionaries to the following:—

1st. European ignorance of native languages.
2nd. European variance of manners.
3rd. European intemperance.
4th. European rapacity.
5th. Higher skill of Mahomedan missionaries.

6th. Conciliatory habits of Mahomedan missionaries.

7th. Christian Europeans in Asia, as bad as Mahomedan Turks in Europe.

8th. Plundering propensities of Europeans, and strict honesty of Arabs.

Sagacious dogmas these! Are they just? Christians suddenly change their natures with the climate in Asia—Mahomedans *vice versâ* in Europe. Thievishness of the Europeans (English included, of course): strict honesty that of the Arabs! Strange characteristics, if true! ! !

I agree with Crawfurd once only, and that is in his second reason—variance of manners; and, were there no variance of manners, I would be ashamed of my countrymen. The Asiatic varies from the European in his addiction to slaveholding and polygamy. These are not amiable attributes; for with them are connected many vices.

All know the predatory habits of the Arabs, of their huge piratical fleets on the coasts of Western India, their universal connection all over the immense East Indian Archipelago with the roving expeditions of the piratical tribes, as well known to old Francis Valentyn as to modern Henry Keppel. Crawfurd was not young when he wrote thus of his countrymen; so he must have been prejudiced—prejudiced by his position in the service of the Company which held the monopoly of all the trade

with the Indies, whose traditional policy it was to give the English dog a bad name, and then hang him. Pirates were rife in India so far back as the times of Pliny, who notices the depredations they committed on the Roman fleets. They were equally rife on the coast of Malabar in the times of Marco Polo, both of whose eras were long prior to the advent of western Europeans in India. And, in the Malay Archipelago itself, the latter author relates distinctly that, while anchored with two thousand men, "at Samara, in order to guard against mischief from the savage natives,—who seek opportunities of seizing stragglers, putting them to death, and eating them,—he caused a large and deep ditch to be dug around him on the land side." Thus the roving habits—it may be predatory ones—of the early European voyagers were not a new feature in the Indian seas,—they were Asiatic as well. Had the Europeans not had large ships and great guns when they first entered into these seas, they would not have been a match for the treachery of the natives, as Dampier witnesses.

The social system, as represented in that native history termed the "Sijara Malayu," proves that piracy, rapine, and murder were as rife in the Archipelago one thousand years ago as they ever have been since. "Plundering propensities" were not confined to the Europeans.

Thomas Carlyle's ideas of Mahomedanism may be summed up as follows:—

1st. He is enraptured with its gross and material truth,—its gross and sensual paradise.

2nd. He is shocked at the mercenary motives of the Christian worthies, who calculate the utility of virtue by profit and loss, even to weighing his infinite celestial soul in a hay-balance.

3rd. The Arabs, according to him, believe their religion, and try to live by it, and not as the sons of Ishmail, on their neighbours' goods. Not so the Christian, with meagre exceptions.

4th. Yet Mahomedanism is a kind of "Christianity!"

Sad account of your countrymen, oh, Thomas Carlyle! You go on to say that zealous Mahomedan missionaries preach their tenets abroad, among Malays, black papuans, brutal idolaters, displacing what is bad, but replacing nothing that is better, or so good!!! I humbly but sincerely differ from you, oh, Thomas Carlyle! Mahomedanism displaces no principle in the Far East; it changes the name, but retains the substance. Its secret of success is that its doctrines and practices are thoroughly acceptable to an ignorant, superstitious, and libidinous people. It affects not the internal or external economy of the household in its polygamous and slaveholding propensities. It abolishes one

thing, but returns an equal; it abolishes idolatry, but establishes bibliolatry. Its missionaries cry, "Verily, and in truth, the name of the Koran is of such sanctity that its mention strikes terror into all devils and evil spirits. Its miraculous powers supersede the miraculous powers of the prophets of old." The Koran is read to the Malay in an unknown tongue; it is therefore as senseless to him as the wooden idols whose place it takes. By the abolition of idolatry, and the introduction of Mahomedanism, no change takes place in the religious and social system of the Malay Mahomedan.

As an ounce of practice is worth a pound of theory, I will give a simple illustration of the spirit of Mahomedan proselytism. I have seen many examples of it; but I never saw a better than that given to me in the year 1839 by my Moslem friend, Kader Mustan, of Ulu Juru. He was a Jawee Pakan (an Arab Kling), who had settled for many years amongst the Malays for the purpose of paddy-planting, trading, and making his fortune. By his intelligence and industry, he had amassed some wealth, which was principally invested in rice-fields, cocoanut-groves, opium, cloths, nails, and tobacco, houses, slaves, and concubines. Being a Mahomedan of Arab descent, he was a man of importance amongst his co-religionists; but as there was a more numerous population of Chinese Bhuddists, he had a good field for proselytism. It happened in this manner:—The Chinese bring no

women from their own country, whilst the Malays have more women than they can take the trouble to support.

Kader Mustan had extensive dealings with both races. He bought sugar, pepper, and indigo from the Chinese, and furnished them in return with opium, cloths, and hardware. He bought rattans, gharu, and simamboo from the Malays, whom he fed with rice, and clothed with sarongs; and, when they ran in debt—which was frequently the case—he took their women in pawn, and disposed of them when they could not pay the debts. Thus Kader Mustan's household became fuller of slaves and concubines than he cared for, and he was willing to get rid of them, on easy terms, provided their Mahomedan faith could be saved.

Now many of the Pagan Chinese had built houses and created pepper gardens, yet had no wife. Kader Mustan's dealings in the species were widely known; so he was often applied to. Here was the Mahomedan's chance to make converts. He would part with none of his women but to Mahomedans. The Chinaman's wants were great, and the power of his religion small. His greatest practical sacrifice would be the abstinence from pigs' flesh and arrack (spirits), but then he could substitute ducks, fowls, and opium. The alteration of habit was a bagatelle. He did not even make the sacrifice of an English drunkard when he becomes a teetotaller. The Chinaman agrees to submit to the first process:

it is momentary, and is strengthened and supported by the example of Kader Mustan himself. The proselyte is now taught a text or two from the Koran, dons the sarong, is a Mahomedan, and obtains a wife.

When I was at Bukit Ketchil, Kader Mustan recounted the names of several Chinese whom he had converted, and he pointed out one to me whom he had proselytized only a week previously. Then he added, "this is the wife I gave him," pointing to a black-eyed nymph pounding at a *lusong* (rice mortar).

Such is a practical example of the mode of spreading Mahomedanism in the Far East. When divested of theory, or romance, it is a very commonplace transaction. At times, the conversion of a rajah may have been followed by the whole tribe; but it was generally by this plain, easy, and business-like process, that proselytes were increased; and the process still goes on. Neither the rapacious Europeans of Crawfurd nor the mercenary hay-balance theologians of Carlyle have anything to do with it. It is a process which prospers where its promoters are intelligent and wealthy. In the Far East it merely supplants older—it may be decaying—faiths; but it substitutes no superior, or more elevating principle. Intelligent Hindoos and Bhuddists are alive to the great unerring truth of one Original Cause, one almighty Maker of heaven and earth. As Kockchai, the Bhuddist, said, "If you have one God over all the earth, then that same

must be *ours.*" The genii, péris, and dewas of the Mahomedans are the idols of the Pagans. They are feared and propitiated, as apparent to the Mahomedan's *mind*, in the same manner as the latter are feared and propitiated, as apparent to the Pagan's *sight*. Sordid superstition rules over and prostrates both.

On referring to the beautiful maps of Keith Johnstone, it will be seen that Mahomedanism has spread from its centre, Mecca, over polygamous countries only. As it advances northwards, its flow is obstructed by the opposite principle—monogamy—and is represented by small dots within the areas of other faiths. It at one time had spread over the doubtful latitude of Southern Spain, but it was hurled thence by the zeal of the northern Christians; and it is now spread over what was Macedonia and Thracia, where it never could have maintained itself had the male population been brave, and the women chaste.

Colonel Law, in his translation of the Keddah Annals ("Jour. Indian Arch.," vol. iii., p. 474), has a note appended which attracted my attention. It was to the effect, that he left a part of the above work untranslated, as being a divergence from the subject; however, he added that "he might hereafter give a separate translation of it; for if the countries mentioned in it could be identified, it might be useful in showing where idolatry still prevailed" (meaning at the period of the narration).

This separate translation never was made, so far as I am aware; but the promise excited my own curiosity. I therefore, being possessed of a copy in manuscript of the work—which is written in the Malay language, and characters (generally termed Jawi) — perused it and found the untranslated part to be a legend of Mahomedanism, which on the first blush appeared to be somewhat in the style of "Asmodeus; or, the Devil on Two Sticks," but which turned out to be a compendium of Mahomedan morality. The subject appeared to be so illustrative of Mahomedan missions that I determined to attempt the translation, even though I had not looked at a Malay book for twenty years, nor spoken the language for ten. I have now much pleasure in presenting the contents of this curious Far Eastern legend for the reader's perusal. But it may be that better Malay scholars have forestalled me.

Viewed from the high pinnacle of European literature, much will appear puerile and absurd, but this does not detract from the value of the document as an illustration of native thought, capacity, and genius. The book from which it is translated was once a very rare one. It was barely saved from destruction, on the expulsion of the Keddah dynasty, by the Siamese. As a history of the line of Kings of the Keddah Malays, the book was much valued and highly esteemed by the natives of that unfortunate country.

In making the translation without the advantage of a Malay moonshee, I am conscious of many inaccuracies. It is as follows:—

"Moreover, Mahomed, the apostle of God (to whom be peace!), died at Medina, after having departed from the city of Mecca, the glorious. Now it is related that, five years after that event, many holy and mighty men amongst the population of the city of Bagdad became converts to the faith. About this time Sheik Nooraldin came from Mecca and Medina, on his way to the countries of Java and Asheen, bringing with him the laws appertaining to the religion of Islam. Now there was a man, by name Sheik Abdulla the elder, residing in the city of Bagdad. This man was sage, venerable, and powerful in prayer; and he was reverenced by numerous disciples—even by hundreds.

"This man, Sheik Abdulla, though aged, was constant in his devotion to works of piety, and duties of adoration towards God (ever to be praised and Most High!). He devoted himself to the maintenance of the code of laws of Mahomed, the apostle of God (to whom be peace!), and to the amendment of the Koran.

"Verily and in truth, the name of the Koran is of such sanctity, that its mention strikes terror into all devils and evil spirits. Because of its truth, it makes straight the paths of righteousness in the religion of Islam. Truth is borne in its front, and truth is set forth in the pages of the Koran. This

book—which was left to mankind by the prophet of God, Mahomed (to whom be peace!)—embodies hundreds of volumes. Its miraculous powers supersede the miraculous powers of the prophets of old, and the venerable men of former times. By the holiness of the Koran, the miraculous powers of venerable men of former time are rendered nugatory,—such as the power of magic—power to fly in the air—power to traverse through the earth, and on the sea—also power in the occult sciences.

"Notwithstanding this, people of the time succeeding the days of these prophets of old, may be endowed with miraculous powers by the special will of God, without which the miraculous powers, and magic arts of venerable men of former times, as well as the miraculous powers of prophets of former times, are not to be attained now-a-days. All this proceeds from the holiness of the Koran.

"Again regarding those false religions under which venerable men of old worshipped idols, (made to speak, or to be dumb,) such as trees, or the sun, or brute beasts that fly with wings or walk with four legs on the ground. To fall down before these, and to call them lords of the universe, are unrighteous ways; and their efficacy is gone and destroyed by the coming down of the Koran of the prophet Mahomed, the apostle of God (to whom be peace!). All the books, magic arts, and miraculous powers of venerable men of olden times have perished. They have been cast into the sea of

Kalzoom, so that the law of Mahomed and the holiness of the Koran might be maintained, and that the faith might be confirmed in all its integrity—that faith being called the faith of Islam, which proceeds from God.

"To proceed: there was a man named Sheik Abdulla, who was born in Yemen, and whose father was also of Yemen, who departed from Mecca, and came to the city of Bagdad, to become a disciple of Sheik Abdulla, the elder. By him he was instructed in the book called Fakih, and the book called Tasoof, also in the commentaries of the Koran, called Tafsir. Sheik Abdulla was learned in the Koran, and he could repeat its thirty chapters by heart. He never rested from studying the Koran. Now Sheik Abdulla, of Yemen, in closely reading the Koran and its commentaries, came across the passage relating to the Devil making mischief amongst mankind. The Devil is described as similating the profound knowledge and wisdom of the learned, with much deceit and perfidy. But, as it is written in the Tafsir, no man can see his face or image. It is true that the Koran is at deadly enmity with him, still the Devil finds ways to destroy mankind.

"On a certain day Sheik Abdulla presented himself before his instructor, (Sheik Abdulla, the elder,) and said, 'I pray thee, oh! master, to allow me to meet the Prince of the Devils, so that I may obtain an insight into his doings amongst mankind, and other created things!' When Sheik Abdulla,

the elder, heard these words and desires of his disciple, he smiled, saying, 'You cannot be allowed to see the Prince of the Devils, as it would necessitate your giving up all works of piety and worship towards God Almighty, which would lead you astray.' But Sheik Abdulla, of Yemen, fell down before his instructor, and craved to be allowed, saying, 'Oh! my lord, by your permission, I would meet him. I burn with a desire to see and understand all his doings!' Then answered his instructor, 'So be it; you must go to the midst of a plain, and set yourself under yonder large tree, taking all your clothes with you. You must not leave a single thing behind. Go, and, when all is still, in the middle of the day, verily he that is called the Prince of the Devils will, by God's grace, come to you. His appearance is the same as that of a man. Do as you desire.'

"This settled, Sheik Abdulla, of Yemen, asked leave of his instructor to go and eat and drink. This done, he dressed himself, complete with turban, and cloak, clasped with three folds, and with a kittang coat of four folds, with a sash to wrap round his body, and, carrying holy-water, he issued forth to the centre of the plain, and sat down by himself in solitude, under the great tree, where he began to read the Koran. Meanwhile his instructor, Sheik Abdulla, the elder, took holy-water, and began to pray by making two prostrations, and then bending down his body, and lifting up his head and

hands, he beseeched God Almighty that he would permit the Prince of the Devils to have an interview with his disciple, who had now set himself below the tree in the middle of the plain. Thus he continued to sit and recite the necessary prayers.

"Now Sheik Abdulla, of Yemen, sat rocking himself* below the tree till the hour of noon, and reading the Koran slowly with a continuous hum. Thus he waited, but no one came nigh; however, he continued to read the Koran. At length, in a moment, there were the sounds of man's footsteps approaching; whilst, at the same instant, he was slapped on the right cheek with so great force that he felt excessive pain. Sheik Abdulla turned himself to the right and to the left, but could see nothing of him that slapped. He rubbed his cheek, to mitigate the pain, in order that he might attend to reading the Koran without intermission. Suddenly the tread of a man's steps was heard again, and down came a slap on his left cheek, even more painful than the first. Sheik Abdulla was terrified; but, on looking up, could see no one. Upon this he arose and fled back, fearing that another slap would be his end, judging it better to get out of the way of the tree.

"Sheik Abdulla thereupon appeared before his instructor, who, smiling, inquired the cause of his not having had the desired interview with the Prince of the Devils. Sheik Abdulla, of Yemen, answered,

* Mahomedans rock their bodies backwards and forwards while reading the Koran.

'It is true I did not see him, but I felt him with a vengeance; for he slapped my cheeks so badly that I thought my very teeth were being drawn.' His instructor asked, 'What were you doing so that you got slaps only for your trouble?' Then answered Sheik Abdulla, 'What was I doing? nothing but rocking myself over the Koran, and reading it, that was all!' Then said his instructor, 'No wonder that he was not visible to your eyes; for he fears and detests to hear the sound of the Koran. He fears and detests it so exceedingly that he always flies from it.' Sheik Abdulla replied, 'I was not aware that he was so much afraid of the Koran as to flee from it, and that he could not listen to it, but allow me to go to-morrow, in silence and alone, and I will not say one word.'

"Sheik Abdulla remained that night; and in the morning he arose from his sleep, and he bathed, and ate, and drank, and dressed himself as before. Then he went to his instructor to ask leave to depart, and received permission. His instructor continued in prayer as before, and Sheik Abdulla went forth, and remained below the tree alone, and refrained from uttering a single word till the hour of noonday, when all mankind are still.* Forthwith came a man, who appeared to be a Sheik, with a long beard which swept over his breast. He was a man of great size and height, who had a green turban on his head, and a stick in one hand. He

* In the tropics men generally rest themselves at noon.

held his beard with the other hand, and his appearance was frightful. As he approached, he bowed, saying, "Peace be with you, oh Sheik Abdulla!" Sheik Abdulla immediately replied, 'With you be peace; who art thou, my lord?' Then the Prince of the Devils said, 'Did not you have occasion to desire to meet me at the instance of your instructor?' To which Sheik Abdulla replied, 'Art thou, oh my lord, the Prince of the Devils?' Then said the Prince of the Devils, 'Yea, and from the Prince of all the Devils, what is your desire?' Sheik Abdulla replied, 'My greatest wish has been to meet with thee, my lord; and the craving of my heart has been to be instructed by thee, and to learn from thee, my lord.' Then said the Prince of the Devils, 'By what means can you be instructed by me? Our natures are at enmity; my daily works you must imitate, and my behests must be obeyed by thee, whatever these may be, otherwise I cannot undertake to give thee an insight into my doings and proceedings, nor those of my imps (literally grandchildren), of whom there are myriads in this world.' Then replied Sheik Abdulla to the Prince of the Devils, 'Acquaint me with your behests, and show me your ways, and I will follow and obey. I will bow to the will of thee, oh, my lord! For were the will of the instructor disobeyed, what were the use of being a disciple?'

"Then said the Prince of the Devils, 'If you agree to that compact, come on, take this staff, and hold

hard by it, and let us trudge.' Sheik Abdulla at once laid hold of the staff, which was in the grasp of the Prince of the Devils; and, holding on to it, he followed behind. Thus they walked invisible to all mankind, and a whole month appeared as but a moment. If it were pitch dark to the eyes of mankind, to them it was bright daylight. Day and night was the same to them.

"At length they entered into a village where the devil and his imps had assembled, in thousands and tens of thousands. Just at this time the two chiefs of the village were very stupidly about to fight each other. Each had half of the village and the surrounding gardens, and their followers were equal in number. So the Prince of the Devils ordered his imps to gather round the people on each side, and to urge them on with backbitings till they began to kill each other. The fight soon became general; the whole people rushing on each other, fighting madly, and gorging on each other's blood, till all the males of both sides were exterminated. After this the daughters were urged on as well as the mothers of those who had been slain. Those fought: incited by grief and sorrow for their sons, they minded not death also. Thus the dire strife continued till all the women were extirpated; they were appalled neither by fear nor dismay. Deadly hatred gave the women fierce courage to hold weapons and pierce with them. The Devil brought calamity upon these people till they were all de-

stroyed. The whole people died together; and, as the vulture preys on the dead, so did a foreign race seize hold of that desolated village, with its surrounding gardens.*

"The Prince of the Devils now proceeded in another direction, his imps following behind him; and he went on till he came to a market-place, where men were buying and selling thousands of articles. Going into the midst, the Prince of the Devils * * * * * * * * * ordering his imps to do likewise. Further, here were to be seen what are called 'the devil's own books,' in great numbers, to wit, beautiful and handsome women. On perceiving one woman more handsome than the rest—says he, 'I am going to read my book.' He then approached the woman, and instigated a good-looking young man to talk and jest with her. This was at the very moment that her husband approached her, who fell in a rage at the young man that was jesting, so that a quarrel was imminent. At this very time the imps set about urging on these two men to stab each other. Thus it happened, by the malice of Satan, owing to a woman's beauty, two men died. This comes of beauty.

"Then went the Prince of the Devils, saying, 'I wish to give lessons to the people in a subject that will make them smart;' with this purpose he approached a man that had been unlucky at the gaming-table, and he instigated him to sell or pawn all the

* This is too often the case in the tropics.

clothes on his body, and even his wife and children, whom he gave over to the winner.* In the same manner, the devil ordered the winner to carry his gains home, in order that he might keep safe to himself what he had won from the multitude. At the same time as the people increased, and collected together to gamble, the Prince of the Devils surrounded the gamblers with his imps. It now happened that those who lose ask credit from those who gain; and, when the losers have nothing remaining to give in pledge, they meet a refusal, and thus a fury comes upon those who have lost, and they are very much worsted. They feel as if it were better to die than to live. But what avail is it to retire from the scene? Are not their wives and children now the properties of others? At this moment Satan urges them on with his infernal malice, and they again demand credit from the winners. Out of these ineffectual demands proceed high words, and abusive language towards the holders of the winnings. The would-be debtor falls into a passion, and drawing his kris, he stabs his neighbour, and then follows a general stabbing match amongst the gamblers. In the blind uproar, all stab indiscriminately. In this way murders are brought about by the instigations of the devil, and when this his lesson, as he calls it, is finished, he slips away to another place.

"He next came to the shop of a great trader,

* Oamut used to tell me this often happened amongst the Malays.

who was a shrewd man of business. To this shop many strangers and holy men came, for the sale and purchase of all kinds of merchandise. But the owner of the shop kept false weights, having a large and small pound (catty, or 1¼ lb.) and a large and small gallon (chupa). And he weighed and measured out with the small pound and the small gallon; but he received in by the large ones. So when it became known to the strangers that the trader bought and sold in this manner, and that he was a man of such character, then the Prince of the Devils instigated the strangers to pick a quarrel with him about the weights and measures. Now, when the trader heard the accusations of the strangers, the Prince of the Devils instigated him also, by his infernal influence, so as to cause him to lose his self-possession. The trader thereupon trembled with rage, slandering and foaming, and the strangers' passions rising also, they draw their krises, and stab the trader through the body, to the backbone, so that he died.

"The trader's family being numerous they assembled and stabbed the strangers. These again having many friends in their ships, flew to the shore, and stabbing became the order of the day. The market became filled with the slain, and the murdered, till the corpses lay in heaps. At length the trader was buried; but, though buried, he found no rest in his grave; for his mouth kept repeating these words:—'A large pound is a small

pound, and a small gallon is a large gallon.' This he continued to repeat thousands of times; and for seven days and seven nights he had no rest in his grave. Such is the end of those people who indulge in the unconstrained desires of Satan in their greed and covetousness after other men's goods, with the view of hoarding to themselves. Such men become Satan's own, and he carries them off with him, and throws them into hell—the place of the damned.

"This man having thus been disposed of, the Prince of the Devils trudged on, accompanied by Sheik Abdulla, of Yemen, towards another country. They came across ten or eleven men sitting down in the midst of the forest; and, as they approached them, it was seen that they were thieves collecting the goods of others in the woods, these goods being the proceeds of many years' foraging. The goods were piled in great heaps, being of all sorts, and in great abundance. Now, the thieves were in the act of dividing the spoil on this very day; so the Prince of the Devils ordered his imps to surround them till each had had his share allotted. 'Then, said one thief to his neighbour, 'You have too much, and I have too little; for was not I over-wearied in going forth to steal? It is but right that I should have more than you.' Says another thief, 'I stood sentinel for you all, and I watched the goods, so I should have a larger share than the others;' and in this way they all argued, till at last Satan instigated them all to anger, and they

became divided amongst themselves, and stabbing and murdering commenced. Now all those who were stabbed became infuriated like wounded boars; whereupon myriads of devil's imps shouted and slapped their backs, screaming and urging them on till they were crushed, scattered, and dead! The men had no care for life, by reason of the slanderous cries of Satan. In truth, it appeared to them better to die than to live, so they raged and stabbed till all were killed.

"Thus all the goods that were heaped up were left for the benefit of strangers.

"Again the Prince of the Devils moved on, with Sheik Abdulla holding by the staff; and they entered an inhabited town. This time the Devil revealed his intention of going to the church of his stronghold, upon which presently he arrived at the opium farmers, where many people were gambling (berjudi) and chancing money (mein sakopong).* There were also multitudes of people drinking spirits. This is what is called the Cathedral of Satan. On arriving, he ordered his imps to collect in the town as many as ten or fifteen imps to each inhabitant, and these instigated the people, till a great multitude began to smoke opium and gamble, and chance money with horrid imprecations. Others played on the violin, the clarionet, the fife, the drum, and

* Kapong is a Japanese coin whose name is preserved amongst the Malays, a valuable metal testimony that Japanese commerce extended to the Archipelago in ancient times, though not in modern.

the cymbals. Now this is what is called 'the feast of the Devil.'

"Of the number that were drinking spirits, three or four became intoxicated, and these men appeared demented, for their reason had gone. On this the armies of imps read their books; that is, they urged on people to drink spirits, behind whom were thousands of devil's imps following, with clamour, screams, thundering, and jostling. But these sounds were heard by Satan alone; if it were possible for these sounds to fall on the ears of mankind, of a truth all men would refrain from wickedness, and immediately would they walk in the paths of righteousness. The devil's imps are delighted with those who are given to drunkenness, because, by thus giving way to their sensual desires, they are sent to hell, where they serve as trophies to the countless armies and subjects of the devil. And as to opium smoking and gambling, these are other modes of the devil to set people at variance. Oh, ye opium smokers and gamblers, ye both end in thieving! You covet other men's effects owing to your craving for opium. You lose all reflection, and you have no shame towards mankind. Your bodies waste away, and your bones dry up. You destroy each other as the spear-shaft. Your flesh is filth. Ye are like unto dogs and swine, for these sleep on the ground, and they rest on the solitary pillow, or on a soft fragment of wood.

"Those who are given to opium forget to eat rice

and curry,* for to them opium alone is sweet. They are debauched, and wander about during the night to steal. They return not to their homes until they are caught and bound by the magistrates. Even then they will strive alone for the taste of opium; but it is permitted only to the great and the wealthy to consume opium.† The true happiness of man and wife in this world and that which is to come is in good works; but this is bartered by all unbelievers who wallow in deformities, abortions, and dirt. As they delight in wickedness, how can they expect justification? They obtain only the rebuke of this world and the curse of hereafter.

"As the people enjoy the clamour and rejoicings, this becomes a token of the devil's own increasing in numbers. For one man joining in the amusements, there are twenty imps about him. They eat filth with shameless sounds, singing and dancing. Even though the wife of the household be carried off by men, this does not bring the reveller to his senses. Debauchery alone is thought of. Even though the inheritance of forefathers be stolen, the reveller cries, 'Let the game go on!' Just at this time the devil instigates young women, of comely persons and beautiful countenances, to mix amongst the people, who are engaged in lewd rioting and gambling. These go with the intention of swelling the crowd and witnessing the gambling.

* Staple food of the East as bread of the West.

† The Malays appear to have one moral code for the rich and another for the poor.

The books of Satan enter at last, and their tokens of him are too apparent, for down comes the wrath of the women's husbands on the rioters. These bring fire, and burn down the opium-farm and the gaming-houses. By the instigation of the devil, these buildings become as ashes in the air. This is the conclusion of the devil's lessons.

"This done, the Prince of the Devils trudged on, in company with Sheik Abdulla, of Yemen; and, departing from his church thus destroyed, he bent towards the village of a great and wise man, and more than that, a counsellor of the king of the country, who gave laws to the people. Now, many men sat in his court asking what the law directed against those who carried off goods without cause. One asked what the law directed against him who had seized possession of his house and garden without cause. Another asked the law against the rich man who had carried off his boat and merchandise without cause. Another asked the law against the man who had run away with his wife, the accused being now present. Another asked the law against the man that had carried off his female slave to make her his wife. Another asked the law against the father who had married his own daughter. Another asked the law against the man who had seduced his daughter, that same man being now present before the court. Another asked the law against the man who had burnt down his house and garden, the culprit having been caught, and now

brought before the court. Another asked the law against the man that had stolen articles from off his children while at play, the accused having been caught and brought before the court with the articles. Another man asked the law against one who had cut down a tree in his orchard without asking permission. Thus the people asked the law before the court, while the Prince of the Devils drew near and went up and sat beside the judge. He then whispered into the judge's ear; and, instigating him by his secret wiles, he put it into his heart to order all those asking the laws to ascend and assemble within the precincts of his house.

"Now the devil instructed his imps, with the concurrence of the judge, to go and lay hold of the valuables—the children, the wives, and the slaves of these people, and bring them into his inner rooms. Thus they laid hold of the property of the highest amongst the people, and secured them in the judge's house. In this the judge acted covetously and avariciously towards man's estate, which was unjust.

"After this the devil went to the owners of the property, of the women, and of the women's fathers, and of the slaves; and to the owners of the goods and chattels, the owners of the boats, and the owners of the gardens, and orchards, and the house that had been burnt. He went to all parties who were demanding their goods and property. Now the judge would not deliver judgment in the causes before him, but he laid hold of all the property, and

stored it privily for his own use, having no intention to hear the suits. Then it came to pass that all the people went to the judge, demanding back their property; but he would not answer them a word; and, without asking the owners of the property even to wait a little, he entered into his inner apartments to eat rice.* On this the multitude swerved to and fro: all thought and discretion fled; a rage fell on them; some drew their weapons to slay—some rushed into the judge's house, and others fetched fire to burn it down, and the village with it. Thus the judge died—he was killed even before he had time to eat rice; and, as to his children and slaves, they fell in numbers by the stabs of the owners of the property, who murdered and killed all before assistance could be brought to them, or to the burning house and village by the officers of the state. The numbers of the murderers were so great that even the officers of the state died in the flames. Thus the house and village were utterly destroyed, and became dust of the wind. This comes of men coveting the goods of others, and of those who care not but to follow, in this life, the sensual desires of Satan. They come to feel the fires of hell.

"To proceed:—The Prince of the Devils and Sheik Abdulla moved on to another country; and, in a solitary place, they met five beggars—askers of charity. They were in the midst of a dense forest, not accessible to mankind. Each carried his own

* As the English would say, to dine or sup.

provisions. These beggars fell in with a tree whose fruit and leaves were of red gold and silver, from the trunk even to the very top. As the five beggars rested below the tree the Prince of the Devils approached them. Then said the beggars, 'What is it that we five search for in a city? Is it not for gold and silver? Have we not fallen in with gold and silver to the extent that we will not be able to carry off? What is to be done?' At this time the Prince of the Devils, by his secret wiles, urged them to leave their provisions for the love of money, which he put into the hearts of the five. They began thereupon, improvidently, to throw away their food, by common consent, and to help themselves to all the articles to which they took a fancy, and each packed them in parcels, and carried off as much as he could stagger under. Even then, half of the beggars looked around, and, seeing so much more on the top of the tree that they desired, turned back, and, taking them, hung them to their necks. They then left—walking awhile, and resting awhile—putting down their burdens awhile, and then carrying them awhile. On this the Prince of the Devils gave notice to his imps to follow and destroy those five beggars; so they were accordingly dogged by these subjects of Satan, who destroyed them.

"Again the Prince of the Devils trudged on with Sheik Abdulla, intending, this time, to enter into the city of men; and they espied a learned man, Shahir-el-Hasan, who, being desirous to see into

futurity, had secluded himself in the strictest manner. Now the Prince of the Devils assumed the appearance of a Sheik, with a beard flowing down to the breast, having a green turban, and carrying a pomegranate in his hand. Approaching, he salaamed. Then did the man immediately open his eyes, and reply, 'With you be peace!' and asked, 'Who art thou, my lord?' Then said the Prince of the Devils, 'I am he who can enable you to attain to all your desires. Take and eat this pomegranate.' Thereupon the hermit, taking the pomegranate, and seeing its freshness, broke it, and put its seed into his mouth; and when these had reached his throat, his eyes became darkened. He lost his senses and became as one that was mad. The Prince of the Devils immediately vanished from his sight, and the pomegranate that was in his hand became invisible, and the hermit entered into the cities of men, and seeing a palace where numerous boys were receiving instruction, he approached them. At the same time the Prince of the Devils approached, and saw that the boys were busy learning the tasks set by their preceptor.

"Then did the Prince of the Devils mysteriously impart mischief into the minds of the boys, so that in an instant one and all neglected their tasks and went to play, or returned to the houses of their parents. The preceptor was angry at this conduct, and called them back and beat those who returned; but others of the boys, hearing of this chastisement

of their fellows, kept away. On this the preceptor requested the parents to bring back their boys; and when they were brought, he immediately commenced to chastise them in their presence. The parents seeing their boys chastised without apparent rhyme or reason became enraged, and carried their children back with them to their homes. Thus it fell out that half the boys had no instruction, and those that remained at school the teacher constantly chastised on account of their going to play. Some ran off, and would not learn their lessons; and the teacher ran after them and beat them. On seeing this their parents again took them away from school, and sent them to another preceptor—but the same circumstances occurred. With some of the children the next teacher was not strict in exacting their lessons, but he sent them into the forest to carry wood, and to cut bundles of sticks. Here, owing to negligence, and being out of the sight of their teacher, some fell from the tops of trees, others got cut on the hands and feet by their billhooks, whilst others got pricked on their hands and feet, while running and romping. They complained to their parents that their teacher ordered them to work, and in consequence they took them away from school, and the boys learnt nothing.

"To others who remained learning their lessons, the teacher was too easy. And when these children heard of play-acting (main wayung), and games

going on, they absconded out of the sight of both teacher and parents. They did just as they liked. In their sight-seeing and amusements, they forgot both meat and drink, as well as their teacher. Now their parents sought for them in the house of the teacher, but finding that they were not there, they followed them to the playhouse, where they found their children all present. On being urged to return home, the children replied, 'Stop a little, only let us remain to see the princes and demi-gods (dewa, dewa, dan numbang).' On this the parents remained also along with the children, to see the sights. Here is the Church of Satan, which his subjects frequent in great multitudes, besetting with their infernal influence the hearts of all the spectators, so that they forget food and drink. They become absorbed in the rejoicings. The valuables in their houses may be carried off by thieves. Even then they have no thought to return. They forget their food.

"At length the teacher himself goes in search of three of his scholars, and he followed them to the playhouse. Here they had been seated for four days, without either going to their parents' houses or to the school. Yea, the teacher followed them into the playhouse, where there was a great multitude of people assembled. The teacher patiently endured the sight of the play, that he might grasp the children by the hands and lead them home. On this the parents of the children got afraid at

seeing crowds following the teacher, because he was beating their children: so they ran and tore them from the teacher, and took them to their own houses. Arriving at home, they find everything had been stolen in their absence. There was not food left even for their children; and having no food, neither could they be instructed.*

"The teacher had now no scholars to be taught, so he remained solitary, because children cannot be taught on an empty stomach. And when teachers have no scholars, the ignorant fall into the snares of Satan: even till old age comes on, some are never taught. The Prince of the Devils is delighted at this state of matters. This kind of teaching is truly perfect to him, for it enables him to push mankind down to hell and destruction.

"So the Prince of the Devils moved on with Sheik Abdulla, and they fell in with a woman that was pregnant. Her month had come, and she never had had a child before. Neither had her husband ever had children borne unto him. So they both earnestly prayed for and desired offspring. And the woman was big with child. Then said the Prince of the Devils to the genii and spirits of the water, 'You must deceive this woman that is big with child, as also her husband, by means of this Karawan jar that is in the river.' Then said the genii and spirits of the water, 'It is well;' so they

* The native author would seem to have been a teacher such as was Abdulla bin Abdul Kader.

took the appearance of old sheiks, clothed in white robes, and they stood over the heads of the man and his wife and cried, 'Oh, husband, bring your wife to a bight in the river, and take from thence a jar which is filled with red gold. This will enable you to procure another wife, far more beautiful than the present one, who is pregnant.' And the husband answered in his dreams, 'How can I do this to my wife, for she is about to lie-in?' Then replied the genii, 'Oh, you have only to push her into the bight of the river, and take out the jar. Do this three times.' So with little hesitation the husband brought his pregnant wife, carrying a cast net; and on arriving at the bight, the husband looked, and sure enough he saw a jar, bobbing up and down. He snatched at it, but it sank; and up it came again, but only to go down as before. On this the pregnant woman bent down to look, on which the husband cast his net sidewards, and holding the rope in one hand, he thrust his wife into the river with the other. At this very instant the rope slipped from his hand, the net having encompassed the mouth of the Karawan jar, and entangled it. Just then, also, the servants of the Prince of the country espied a man trying to obtain a Karawan jar, and they told it to the Prince, who ordered them at once to lay hold of the man, who could make no excuse for himself.* So the Karawan jar

* Karawan jars appear to have been royalties, but I am not aware of their nature.

returned to the Prince; the wife of his love died; his desire for children was not realized; his vows were broken; his net was lost. So nothing turned out to his wish. It thus happens to those who partake of the delusions of Satan in following their uncontrolled passions. They crave for the things of this world, and become mad and upset.

"The Prince of the Devils and Sheik Abdulla next went to a place called his Church. This was where the people were busy play-acting and calling down spirits, and where people were about to fight buffaloes, with bellowing and disgraceful cries, accompanied by the tambour. Here all the devil's imps were assembled in thousands, to cast their wicked influence on mankind. This influence extends abroad over people far from the scene, and induces them to come and abandon their works of piety and their worship of God (who alone is almighty), and to bring destruction upon themselves. Each one forgets his duty in the sight and hearing of the plays and the buffalo fight. They forget even to eat and to drink, and their property, their children, and their wives, which they left at home, are relinquished to thieves. The long-bladed krises at the buffalo-fight are plentifully supplied to both sides; and the side which triumphs cheers tremendously, and dances about with unsheathed weapons, glorying over the heads of the owners of the worsted buffaloes. Now these owners, instigated by the devil, become enraged and also draw

their weapons. They strike with their spears, and throw them indiscriminately at the crowd. Murder is rampant. This is the devil's mischief. By his supernatural devices, life changes into death. His followers are thrust into hell and damnation, along with him.

"Presently those play-acting, and calling down spirits, are struck with terror, and join in the deadly strife, and thus many of the sons of men meet with death, and lie strewed about the ground. Such is the fate of those who set aside God (who alone is almighty), and trust to the spirits of Satan. They are dead to their own estate; dead, it is true, but their spirits attain not to the sky nor to the earth, but they flit amongst the clouds. Those men are the damned—the scum of hell: damnation is their name. They die ignominiously. Indulging in the sensual ways of Satan, they are struck with damnation.

"To proceed. There were five beggars carrying cloth wares, and after they had journeyed seven days, and seven nights, they were an hungered, not having tasted either meat or drink. And they came to a certain road, near to a village and garden, which were inhabited by men. The five could scarcely lift their feet to walk, so they fell down and slept. And of the five there was one that was strong, so, said he, 'Let me go into the market of this country to buy eatables, and to bring them for all of you.' So each took a portion out of his burden

and gave it to their comrade. Then went the comrade and entered the village, where he sold the portions and bought provisions—such as oil, fried fowls, and pumpkins filled with water. The devil now appeared and placed his mysterious influence on him, the most potent influence of avarice and covetousness was put into his heart. The suggestion occurred to him to appropriate all the property of his comrades. So he bought flour and hired a man to bake bread, and to make soup, and curried fowl; and, of the many, into four loaves he put poison, which he kept separate, and brought to his four comrades.

"The four beggars were delighted to obtain food, and having ate their fill, put by what was over, and went to sleep. Shortly they awoke, and rose up to eat bread again, which they dipped into the chicken soup; and the five men ate on till all was finished excepting the four loaves. These remained uneaten. They now agreed amongst themselves to finish these also, and the four asked their comrade to join with them, but he declined, saying that he was satisfied. On his refusing to eat with them, they felt annoyed at him; and the four having finished the soup, they importuned him to eat along with them. So he felt ashamed of himself, and ate with them till all the bread was finished. On this the five fell down and died of the bread that had been poisoned. All lay about dead; and the goods that had been carried by these five beggars

were strewed on the ground to fall a prize to other men. This consummation was planned by the Prince of the Devils. Avarice and covetousness and the pursuit of sensual desires are fomented by Satan.

"Thereafter, the Prince of the Devils, with Sheik Abdulla, left his Church, that is, the buffalo-fight and the murdering that was going on, and they entered into a certain house and enclosure of a great merchant. When this merchant retired to sleep, he ordered all his wives to lie around him. Then did the Prince of the Devils place his infernal devices into the hearts of the eight wives, so that they were instigated to injure the merchant. So they conspired, by a firm compact, to seek a medicine of which each were to give a share to the merchant, and they did so. Thus it is with those who indulge in the sensual desires of Satan, and in eagerness for greatness in this world.

"The Prince of the Devils having finished the destruction of the merchant and his eight wives and concubines, he went to another great merchant like unto the last. He had only one wife, and there came a woman to sell a female slave of beautiful form, olive complexion, tall and slender, but whose eyes squinted, and whose breast was yellow and swollen. Then said the merchant's friends to him, 'Oh, master, buy not this woman, for her previous behaviour has been very loose!' But one of the women who wished to sell her said, 'If you will not take

her, buy myself, for I am pure,' and in the merchant's heart a strong desire arose, so he bought the woman and paid down the price, and carried her to his house, where he made her stewardess over all his household affairs. It then came to pass that the stewardess went to the merchant's wife and said, 'Oh, my lady, do you love your husband? for he has done evil with a young woman at the shop.' At this the wife of the merchant was angered, and distressed at her husband, on account of his having done evil at the shop. The stewardess thereupon went to the merchant and said, 'Have a care of yourself, oh, master, for your wife desires to kill you; she hates you because she is at present intriguing with a young man.' So the merchant became enraged at his wife. Then again went the stewardess to the wife of the merchant with a concocted story, saying, 'If my lady truly loves her merchant, when he comes in the middle of the day to sleep, let my lady take a sharp razor and trim his beard while he is asleep, and thus regain his affection; for that unlucky woman shampoos the beard of your merchant.'

"When the morrow came the merchant went to sleep, and he at the same time was wishing to find out the intrigues of his wife. At this time the Prince of the Devils came close to the wife whilst the stewardess was in the act of putting a razor into her hands. As the merchant slept, she set about to trim his beard; but he felt his wife's

presence at his head and the razor at his beard, so he opened his eyes, and thinking that his wife was about to cut his throat, he started up, he grasped his kris, and run her through the body—so that she died. Thereupon a great clamour arose because of the merchant having killed his wife, which brought her father and brothers, who now stabbed the merchant, so that he died with his wife, leaving all his valuables in heaps to become the portions of other people.

"Now this is the style of the 'book of Satan.' Very fine law, and customs, and sense, and the meaning is this. The squint-eyed, yellow, swollen-breasted woman, it was who brought the dire mischief of Satan into every occurrence. She is the perfection of the ugly genii of Satan.

"Then the Prince of the Devils, with Sheik Abdulla, went forth from that country towards the stronghold of a prince whose country was situated near the sea-shore, and they arrived at the city of Prince Gamashtoor by name, who had a brother by name Kamshakur, also a prince. And the brothers possessed wide domains, with many subjects, councillors, champions, and warriors. And Prince Gamashtoor had a daughter of so great beauty, that numerous princes courted her. Now Prince Gamashtoor would countenance none of them, at which they were offended, as their domains were great also. The first that came to offer his hand was called Prince Kisir Alam, but his suit was

rejected; upon which he said to Prince Gamashtoor, 'You had better strengthen your ramparts and moats against the time I shall come to carry off your daughter by force.' So he returned back to his own country. Three or four months after this, another prince came, called Pagram Dewa, whose domains were also extensive. But Prince Gamashtoor refused his suit also, which incensed him so that he threatened the prince, saying, 'Secure your ramparts and moats, for I will come and assault them,' on which he returned back to his own country. Three or four months after this again there came a prince called Asal Alan, whose domains were very extensive; but Prince Gamashtoor would not give him his daughter, which provoked him to such a degree, that he cried, 'Oh, Prince, strengthen your ramparts and moats, for I intend to attack them!' and he returned back. Nothing would alter the resolution of Prince Gamashtoor.

"Now Prince Gamashtoor, being desirous of carrying out his intentions of making offerings and worshipping before the great idol whose belly was shaped like that of a buffalo, which was made of brass, gathered together all kinds of gamesters and play-actors, for there were to be great rejoicings. While these rejoicings of Prince Gamashtoor were being carried on, there was great and incessant revelry, noise, bustle, and uproar, during both night and day. The nights were made as clear and brilliant

as noonday by means of lamps, candles, and lanterns. At this conjuncture the Prince of the Devils arrived, and, with his imps, filled up the whole place, crying out, 'At length we have espied our cathedral, where we will be able to perform all kinds of piety and adoration.' Immediately, thereupon, the Prince of the Devils leapt into the mouth of the great idol, and he bellowed out with all his might and main, as loud as thunder in the sky, and the whole country round could hear him, saying, 'Beware, oh, Prince Gamashtoor, prepare your warlike equipments, and go forth immediately; for the princes of three countries are nigh at hand; but, with my assistance, you may keep them off!' On this all were silent, and not a word was spoken; but when Prince Gamashtoor, with his councillors, guardsmen, and warriors, heard the voice of the idol, each and all ran and fell down before it; even the feeble and the aged in thousands came and fell before it, praying for assistance, and that they might not be taken by their enemies. They also brought eatables in heaps, as high as hills, before the great idol; for, during its existence, it had never yet spoken; this was the first time on that day. Then the councillor called Chang Mantrie came, and made obeisance before Prince Gamashtoor, saying, 'Would it not be well, my lord, that we send spies to see the coming enemy? The idol whose mightiness is greater than all has forewarned us.' Then said Prince Gamashtoor, 'True, do as you suggest; let

my people go and see, for we are in the midst of our rejoicings, and have not leisure to prepare our armies for battle.' So the Councillor ordered men to go forth to spy the approaching army, and they went forth accordingly.

"Now Prince Gamashtoor constructed a large house of great height, and he raised the great idol and set it on the top, and the smaller idols he ranged round about. And all the people of his dominions assembled and prostrated themselves before the idols, along with their Prince, who returned not to the palace. Thus the Prince, with his councillors and warriors, relaxed not in their rejoicings. Night and day there was no end of rejoicings, so that Prince Gamashtoor forgot the warnings of the idol.

"As to the spies sent out—when they met the army of Prince Kisir Alam, they were taken prisoners, and the army fell on the people unawares, in the midst of their rejoicings. Some people clamoured and cried that the enemy were attacking them, whilst others cried that it was only strangers coming to join in Prince Gamashtoor's rejoicings, for the country is a great one. The attacking army attacked the west side of the city, and, on the very same day, Prince Pagram Dewa fell on the south side with a great army. Still many said they were people come to join in the rejoicings; but others said 'it is an enemy coming to attack us in great force.'

"It was now evening, and there came another army; this was that of Prince Asal Alan, as it rushed on. Like breakers of the ocean were the sounds of his advancing force. Amidst all this turmoil there arose the noise of tremendous firing from landward, during which Prince Asal Alan led forth his warriors and champions in thousands for a furious attack on the northern ramparts. Just at this moment the Prince of the Devils entered the mouth of the idol, and with a loud voice, exclaimed, 'Oh, Prince Gamashtoor, know not you and your councillors and warriors that your enemies have arrived, and are entering on three sides? Get out immediately, and by my assistance no harm will come of this!' Then there was dead silence, and no one could utter a word; for Prince Gamashtoor, with all his councillors and warriors, were about arranging the ceremony of worshipping and prostrating themselves before the great idol, beseeching assistance. At the voice of the idol great fear and amazement had fallen on all present, and they left not off prostrating themselves before it; but the idol would not answer them. In consequence all fled from the pagoda; and, returning to their homes, they hurriedly grasped their weapons and sought out the commanders of Prince Gamashtoor.

"At the same time Prince Gamashtoor and his brother fled to their fort, and ordered all the gates to be closed. And a fire broke out around the fort,

so that all the surrounding houses were destroyed, in which many people died with piteous wailings. Now there were four great councillors of Prince Gamashtoor, one named Chang Mantri, another Agam Jewa Mantri, another Ambilan Mantri, and the other Lang Chang Mantri; and under these great councillors were two councillors whose greatness consisted in bravery, and they were in the confidence of Prince Gamashtoor and his brother. When Chang Mantri and his colleagues saw the state of affairs, the four consulted together, and resolved to present themselves to their prince along with such armed followers as they could collect. Then the four councillors hastened to the fort, with their armed followers, but could not get near to it owing to the enemy being yet engaged in slaughtering and burning; but having made a detour to the eastern side, they got entry by the gate along with their followers. So the four ascended to the magazine of the fort, which was filled with powder, balls, and cannon, with men in array. Here they found Prince Gamashtoor with his brother busy ordering the forces to fire the cannon.

"It was in the dead of night that the cannon began to bellow forth, and as they were fired the thundering noises confused the fight, so that friend fought against friend, while the ranks in the vicinity of the fort and at the base of the ramparts were mowed into wide gaps by the shot. Then said Chang Mantri and his colleagues to Prince Gamashtoor,

'Who are these enemies that have come upon us, oh, Prince?' To which Prince Gamashtoor replied, 'I know not; but, my lords, let two of you remain with me in the fort, and let two of you go forth and raise my subjects far and wide; ascertain also who may be the princes that assault us.' Then said Agam Jewa Mantri and Ambilan Mantri, 'We will mount our chargers and issue from the eastern gate.' When they had issued, the gate was closed and guarded, whilst they collected followers and subjects who were at a distance from the war, as well as those who were cut off from it.

"As to the invading princes and their three armies, they fought furiously, stabbing one another, for by this time the people of the city had all been either slaughtered or made captive. In the mêlée the houses were burnt down, and the pagoda was set on fire and consumed to ashes with all its idols. The whole city of Prince Gamashtoor was destroyed and burnt down to be dust of the wind; for the three princes assaulted it far and wide in every direction. All this was done in ignorance, for they knew not of each other's courtship, nor had they a common understanding as to the intention of each to assault the city of Prince Gamashtoor. Thus it happened that they fell to assault all at one time. Their countries were very distant from each other. So it came to be said that the people of Prince Gamashtoor are fighting in great force near the fort, and with this impression the three princes

fought with and slaughtered each other till daylight began to appear, and their people wondered that their enemies fought with such pertinacity; they also wondered to see cannon-balls shot from the fort against the houses which remained unburnt, killing hundreds of the inmates. And though the outskirts of the fort had become an open plain, yet the shot fell thereon with awful thundering sounds deafening to the ear, more loud than the forked lightning in the sky. The noise of the firing of cannon, and the noise of the warring of men, were like unto the sound of the hurricane and typhoon (tufan) about to fall on the earth.

"And all the games, and all those that provided pleasures, and all those that desired to pay their vows to the idols, were overwhelmed and destroyed. The desires of Prince Gamashtoor were not fulfilled. At length dawn appeared, so that those in battle began to see about them, and each sought his own tribe that they might erect forts and houses for the shelter of their three separate armies. Now for the first time did Prince Kisir Alan order his men to inquire the name and country of the two other princes and armies. So each told who their prince was, and the cause of their war being the rejection of their suit. It was now only that they thought of a mutual treaty, when half their subjects and followers only remained to them in each army. Besides this, the natives of the city lay

dead in heaps: like mountains of blood and flesh, their corpses lay strewed about in all directions. Further, the houses set on fire blazed till the evening; this was the case with all the houses outside of the fort. Thus the families of many households were extirpated.

"Now the country of Prince Gamashtoor was large, and his ramparts and moats were extensive, and when day had dawned, he ordered all his men to cease firing the cannons, while he held council with his brother and his two chiefs regarding the operations of the war. At this time the Prince of the Devils came to the ear of Prince Gamashtoor, and, laying him under his infernal influence, he instigated him to work his cannon against the fort of Prince Kisir Alam, which was on the western side. The men did as they were ordered, for the death of Prince Gamashtoor was nigh at hand. Next the Prince of the Devils proceeded to the fort of Prince Kisir Alam, towards its northern side, for the prince's armament was great; and he came near and sat by the ear of Prince Kisir Alam, just as the prince was holding council with his chiefs regarding the destruction of the fort of Prince Gamashtoor. Again the Prince of the Devils instigated, by his hidden wiles, the heart of Prince Asal Alan, so that he ordered the fort of Prince Gamashtoor to be undermined, and the buildings in it to be blown up with powder. This was undertaken with alacrity to save fighting with weapons, and also from a desire

on the part of Asal Alan that no one should obtain the princess.

This occurred during the forenoon. Then came the two great councillors and attacked the eight councillors, who commanded the three fully-equipped armies, with their chariots, elephants, and horses. The army in the fort of the prince was now pitched against the three fully-equipped armies, who numbered thirty to forty thousand men. So the ten councillors rushed furiously against each other, leading the armies of the princes. And all the princes entered the battle, for there was no time to stay the war and the furious onslaught, with chasing, and stabbing and slashing; swordsmen hacking with the sword, and spearsmen piercing with the spear, in struggling clamour, fierce cries, and awful sounds.

"Then Chang Mantri begged of Prince Gamashtoor that he would allow Prince Kamshakur to go out against the enemy, to which he assented. So he went forth, accompanied by all his captains and warriors, and also with the two councillors, chiefs, and followers of the army in the fort, these being fully armed, and beating drums and bearing flags and banners, the insignia of princes going out to battle. Tremendous was the noise of the onslaught; for thousands on thousands engaged in blind fury with the ranks of Prince Pagram Dewa. A great battle ensued with his army. No other sound could be heard but the sound of screaming

and bawling. All the heroes and warriors were heard stabbing with the kris, and grappling in the death-struggle. Some cut with the sword, parrying and recoiling, fencing with sword's-point to sword's-point. Numbers were pierced with the flying spear, for the spears were hurled from side to side. Others fought with the buckler, pulling and dragging from side to side, with horrid bellowing, cutting and leaping, thrusting and parrying. Each sought an opponent to pursue with loud cries. The strife was very awful, in its clashing noises and thundering uproar. It was as the Day of Judgment: and as the shrieks arose in the first of the onslaught, the dust ascended in clouds into the air, from the feet of the elephants and horses, as well as the infantry. This, with the smoke of cannons, enveloped everything in murky darkness, insomuch that no one could know his neighbour. The battle was waged —friend against friend. The blind affray became cutting for cutting, stabbing for stabbing, in the dark haze, also grappling to stab with the kris, so that many died on both sides. The dead bodies lay in heaps like hills, and blood was shed like swiftly-overflowing waters; and the hollows of the ground were pierced with all sorts of broken weapons. And as for the human heads that had been cut off, these lay like cocoanuts that had fallen from their pendicles. And the bodies of men were like unto plantain stalks, decaying in the midst of

the plain. The end of the war was a multitude of corpses, of men and horses. So much blood flowed on the ground that the dust was allayed.

"And, while darkness continued, rank and file encountered, then leaped back and retired to assuage their weariness. And as they retired, they washed their weapons and sought out their own leaders, who commanded them to rush to the fight again, shouting, and slaughtering with shrieks and yells.

"Prince Gamashtoor stayed in his fort and palace while the great war was going on; for he remained in the battlements of the fort. Then came the Prince of the Devils to the Princess, saying, 'What a handsome and beautiful creature!' With this he approached her, and imparting his mysterious influence, there came upon her an intense desire to witness the battle going on outside the fort. The father also was so urged by his child that he mounted the bridge of the palace, and thence witnessed the people fighting. On the father having mounted the bridge, the daughter cried also to go, so she ran along stretching her arm against the stone wall of the palace. And the arm that was stretched to the wall fell against it, and as it fell, a spike that was in the masonry struck her eye, piercing through the right one to the left. On this she fainted, and falling, broke her left leg, and there she lay.

"Upon this there was consternation in the palace,

and the cry arose that the princess had fallen in reaching to the wall, and that her eye had been pierced, her leg broken, and that she herself was in a swoon. Upon this her father ran down to his child, left his men that were engaged in sapping and mining, and those that were in the midst of battle, and hastened, with weeping and wailing, to draw out the spike from the eye of his child. But he fainted at the sight, and the attendants threw rose-water over both. The consternation now became so great that it reached the battle-field. The day was near at a close, and the mines had been driven near to the house held by Prince Kisir Alam. The mines were fired and the house blown to the ground. The Prince Kisir Alam, who was in the thick of the slaughter, was speechless with rage and fury. He desired death rather than life; for his provisions and clothing were spent, and his arms were consumed in the fire. Day had now become night, and the mines had been driven by Prince Asal Alan underneath the palace of Prince Gamashtoor, which being fired, blew up all the houses in the fort, together with the palace. That also was burnt to the ground.

"This catastrophe struck such terror into Prince Gamashtoor that he had no time to call for aid. A great fear fell upon him, and he trembled from head to foot, and fled with his wife and child with the royal drum, and went forth out of the fort by the eastern gate, deserting the spot and his people.

Hereupon Prince Asal Alan slaughtered right and left, so that those people who would have extinguished the fire were all destroyed. The fort became as a plain, clear and open to view. But, before it had been burnt, and during the continuance of the battle, assault, and slaughter, Prince Kamshakur and Prince Pagram Dewa encountered each other on horseback with lances. They were equally skilful; and Councillor Chang Mantri met Councillor Dikar Alam, cutting with the sword and guarding with the shield. And Councillor Agam Jewa met Councillor Jurus Alam, and they both fought with swords. And Councillor Nila Pengawa met Councillor Kehir Ala-Alam, and Councillor Sri Lela Tora met Keber Alam, fighting with swords. The eight councillors were equally skilled with the other eight. And they all remained close to the two princes, entering the lists with them.

The army of Prince Kisir Alam, which was very numerous, yelled and shrieked upon the capture, by the captains and councillors of Prince Gamashtoor, of the councillors called Nita Mantri, and Yunan Mantri, and Shriri Mantri, who were hastily carried to the base of the fort, where they were bound, and a guard of warriors placed over them. And the yells of the men of Gamashtoor grew loud, for Prince Kisir Alam now remained alone; also the shrieks of the men on the side of Prince Asal Alan waxed exceedingly loud, for their four councillors were killed or taken. And Councillor

Mamang ordered the head of Councillor Jena Petir to be struck with a mace, and his brains were scattered about. And Councillor Lela Tangara stabbed Councillor Sina Kapura through, till he died. And Councillor Norkas Sri caught Councillor Lanang Sri; and Councillor Lanang Sri so cut with his sword, by a false parry, the neck of Councillor Kalahari, that his head was severed, and it rolled on the ground. Thus all the four councillors died. Prince Asal Alan was present with his councillors, and numerous warriors, while they were engaged in slaughtering within the precincts of the fort of Gamashtoor, and burning it, and the contents of the palace and dwellings. The yells and shouts of the contending armies ceased not in the midst of the battle. Night, meanwhile, wore on apace. The fire in the fort of Gamashtoor raged the more, and there was no more help for him. Though his subjects rushed eagerly to his assistance in quenching the fire, they came only to die amidst the slaughter of the furious affray. Though the battle was furious, yet the burning of the fort of Prince Gamashtoor was even more appalling. It was beyond all help. Of those who rushed into the battle, all died; they were slaughtered by the warriors of Prince Asal Alan. And of such as fled into the forest, whether enemies or natives, many were taken and bound. And though the young wept, wailed, and cried for help, they were all burnt alive. The possessors of the city

were thus destroyed, and those who came against it as enemies were also destroyed. The end was that none attained their desires.

"Thus it is with the work of the Prince of the Devils towards those that sin against God (who alone is almighty) and pride themselves on their worldly estate.

"Thereafter the Prince of the Devils, leaving his Church in ruins and disorder, trudged on with Sheik Abdulla, and they went forth from that country to a city on the shore of the sea, whose prince was great. And they met many ships of divers nations; sailing amongst which there were some that bore the appearance of the expedition of Dewa Molik, the European (Ferringhee). And the Prince of the Devils stood before the largest ship, to wit, that of Molik, the European, whose cunning and wickedness were great; and instigated him to capture the ships of men sailing on trading voyages. This done, he (Molik) took the hint, and he ordered all ships, indiscriminately, large and small, to be captured. Having captured all these, he went and assaulted a fort on the shore, which was the fort of Prince Seer Ameer, the elder. This prince had three brothers, one named Prince Mirabab, one named Gandari Mirabab, and the third named Palier Abab. Their fort was large, and very strong; and their subjects were numerous.

"Now when the fleet of Dewa Molik, the European, arrived, he gave no notice, but assaulted at

once, engaging the whole fleet with the landspeople. By this time the fort was mounted with great guns, so they resisted with great noises, and thunderings, accompanied by yells and shouts. By the smoke of the guns a murky mist arose, so that daylight became gloomy darkness. There was nothing else to be heard but the booming of cannon; and the shot flew backwards and forwards like hail. Even thunder and lightning in the sky could not be heard, owing to the noise of the great guns; and in the midst of the fight, many of Dewa Molik's ships were sunk by the shot striking them. But the war waxed the more furious, with shouts and yells on either side.

"Now, as the battle raged, Prince Gandari Mirabab and his brother Prince Palier Abab, waxed wroth; and they encouraged their men to issue forth from their moorings in armed vessels, and to dash like a squall of wind on the enemy's fleet, and surround and engage it with shouts and yells. On seeing this attack, the European chief fought with great vigour. The smoke of the guns so increased the gloomy mist that no one could see the other. Then Dewa Molik ordered all his ships to draw near to the fort, till they touched the base, when all his warriors, braves, and their leaders leaped ashore, and, drawing their weapons, they rushed on furiously.

"Prince Seer Ameer Abab being left in the fort with his younger brother, whose name was Meer Abab, he and his brother sought an encounter with the men of the sea, believing that the object of their

landing was to slaughter the occupants of the fort on shore. So they ordered the cannons to be fired, which was instantly done with vigour, by the great as well as small guns. There was no parley between the fort and the men of the sea. Their fire descended like heavy rain on the vessels of the fleet, which utterly destroyed them, with loud and fearful cutting sounds. The missiles flew like forked lightning. Nothing was to be heard but the sounds of weapons, and the thrusting, fencing, cutting, and slashing resounded with dinning noises. At the time of the headlong rush, all the vessels of the fleet of Dewa Molik, the European, were destroyed, becoming dust and ashes strewn to and fro on the sea. After a time the smoke disappeared, and the air became clear. On this the leader of the fleet, Dewa Molik, was dismayed, for it was now apparent that all his ships had been destroyed, and that it was his fate to remain alone. He was blinded with rage, and all thoughts of safety were banished; so, with his councillors, warriors, and braves, he leaped on shore, and rushed forward with naked weapons. It being perceived by Prince Mirabab, that the European Dewa Molik rushed on ahead, he ordered his warriors to surround him. They mounted their horses and vigorously attacked him with yells and shouts and thundering sounds like lightning in the sky. The carnage increased with the turmoil.

"This being seen from the vessels, Prince Palier Abab and his brother immediately sprang on shore,

and surrounded the men of the European captain, and either stabbed all those ashore, or cut them down, or took them prisoners; and all the men of the European captain were taken prisoners or killed. More died than lived. It is thus with those who follow the unhallowed passions of Satan. And all the imps of Satan are thus enabled to gratify their revenge on the slain. It is in this way that many come to their end by following the teachings of Satan.

"The Prince of the Devils, with Sheik Abdulla, next went to another country, keeping near those which skirt the ocean, which they entered to destroy mankind and their cities. In passing, forthwith they arrived at a city whose prince was accustomed to drink spirits (arrack), where the Prince of the Devils and Sheik Abdulla at once mounted the palace of Prince Maha Wangsa. The prince was on the point of rising out of his sleep along with his wife. When the Prince of the Devils and Sheik Abdulla approached and stood close to the curtains, the prince rose from his sleep and called for a glass of spirits, on which the maidservant of the prince took a flask of spirits and a glass and brought them. She was about to pour them out just as the Prince of the Devils (bad luck to him!) filled the vessel with an offensive liquid, so that there was much of that stuff and but little of the spirits. The glass was now presented to the Prince by the girl kneeling, which the Prince took from her hands, and

poured the contents into his mouth, and swallowed. Upon this, Sheik Abdulla interfered with the Prince of the Devils, saying, 'God bless me, why didst thou, my lord, give such a draught to the prince?' Then answered the Prince of the Devils, 'Did not I bargain with you, that you must not interfere or challenge any of my doings towards mankind?' To which Sheik Abdulla replied, 'In other places I did not intend to challenge your deeds, but this is a great prince, reigning over a country, as the vice-gerent in this world of God Almighty; it is not proper that you should give him such stuff to drink.

"Prince Pra Ong Mahawangsa was astonished at hearing people quarrelling so near his curtains, as it were in his presence, but yet invisible, the voices being alone heard. He was so disconcerted that he even forgot to wash his face. Thereupon the Prince of the Devils became so enraged at Sheik Abdulla that he said, 'If you are so clever, let us part,' and in a moment he pulled the staff out of Sheik Abdulla's hands, and, disappearing, left the palace. So Sheik Abdulla became apparent to the eye of mankind, and there stood with clasped hands. Then the Prince took him by the hands and inquired, 'Who are you, my lord, and with whom were you speaking just now? and how did you come down into my chamber? I observe that you are dressed in foreign garments, the sign of having arrived from a distant country. And again, how did you come, and who brought you

hither? for the young women are yet asleep.' Then answered Sheik Abdulla, 'Oh, Prince, the person that I was striving with just now was the Prince of the Devils. Did you not, oh, Prince, imagine that you drank spirits just now? It was not spirits. You were deceived.'

"When the Prince heard the words of Sheik Abdulla about his having drunk something from the devil, he smelt the glass as he sat by the curtains, and said, 'If I have drunk this from the devil, it is quite certain it has no resemblance to spirits.' Then, said Sheik Abdulla, 'Oh, Prince, I am a native of Yemen, and am come direct from Bagdad, the city of my instructor, and I was carried to this place by the devil, for I wished to be instructed in, and to see all, his doings. So he gave me a staff which rendered me invisible, and I had witnessed all his evil doings over mankind till I arrived at your palace. My name is Sheik Abdulla, and may I ask, at the same time, what distance may be the voyage from this country to Bagdad?' Pra Ong Mahawangsa replied, 'It is very distant, being three or four months' voyage from this country of Keddah, as I am told by persons accustomed to come and go.' Then said Sheik Abdulla to the Prince, 'And of what religion are you, oh, Prince, in this country of Keddah?' The Prince replied, 'Our religion has descended to us from our ancestors, and we all worship idols.' Then said Sheik Abdulla, 'Does my lord not know that this age is the age of the

prophet Mahomet, the prophet of God (to whom be peace)? To the prophet in these latter days must we devoutly look. And afterwards we will bring the code of laws of the religion of Islam as written in the Koran; a book which came down into the city of Mecca, from God Almighty to his apostle the prophet of God (to whom be peace). His tomb is at Medina, and all religions of former times are false; so do not you, oh, Prince, remain ignorant of the falsity to the religion in which you worship. Your religion is the plaything of the devil, by which he vexes mankind. Though he be invisible, and far off, verily you follow the commands and wishes of the devil, all of you.'

"Thereupon Pra Ong Mahawangsa replied, 'If it be so, you must assist us all to learn the religion of Islam, which is the true one.' When Sheik Abdulla heard the words of the Prince, he fell on him and kissed his body, and then sitting down, he conversed a while with him, teaching him the creed, which runs as follows:—'I verily believe that there is no God but God. He is one, not two, and that Mahomet is the prophet of God.' Then the Prince repeated the Creed as taught by Sheik Abdulla, and he also commanded his attendants to bring the jar and flask of spirits; then the Prince Pra Ong Mahawangsa poured out the whole spirits on the ground with his own hand, and ordered also everything in the name of an idol in the palace to be brought together; these his attendants brought and

laid them before him in a heap. There were idols of gold, silver, pottery, brass, wood, and clay, all in the human shape. These did Sheik Abdulla strike with an axe and cut with a sword till they were in shreds and pieces, and he cast them into the fire."

This introduces the Mahomedan missionary Sheik Abdulla to his labours in Keddah; and as the sequel has been translated by Colonel Law, I need only tell the result of the native history.

The Prince having been converted, his subjects quickly followed. Sheik Abdulla's labours were crowned with success, and, after being settled in the country for some time, the Prince sought out a handsome girl, the daughter of a councillor of state, to be the Arab missionary's wife. But none could be found willing to espouse the holy man, as his intention to return to Bagdad was known.

Having completed the conversion of the country and settled his affairs, Sheik Abdulla set sail for Bagdad, touching at various places for wood and water, and shaped his course for Hindostan, whence he finally coasted homewards, passing the Maldive Islands, where he again wooded and watered and took in provisions. Thence he arrived safely at the end of his voyage.

Here he found Sheik Abdulla the elder, his spiritual guide, still alive, and to him he related all his adventures with the Prince of the Devils and subsequent labours in Keddah.

CHAPTER VII.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES.

CHRISTIANITY, an older belief, had preceded Mahomedanism into many parts of Asia and Africa. But as my little book only pretends to give "glimpses," I must condense my remarks on this all-important subject. Marco Polo's evidence proves that sects of Christians had settled during the 13th century on the eastern confines of China, and on the southern seaboard of Hindostan. They were, besides, met with by him in the remote interior of Asia. Of their manners and customs his pithy, short chapters give us little information. At Aden (now an English settlement, and the supposed maritime port of the Queen of Sheba who visited Solomon), the same author informs us, the Christians were detested by the Saracens. He inserts a story of the Christians of the islands of males and females, no doubt drawn from the information of his Saracen pilots, and in which there was more of sarcasm than of truth. The religion of Christ has ever inculcated chastity; and as the

story is characteristic of the peculiar weakness of the natives of that region, I copy it.*

"*Of the Islands of Males and Females.*

"Distant from Kesmacorun, about five hundred miles towards the south in the ocean, there are two islands within about thirty miles from each other, one of which is inhabited by men without the company of women, and it is called 'the island of males;' and the other by women without men, which is called 'the island of females.' The inhabitants of both are of the same race, and are baptized Christians, but hold the law of the Old Testament. The men visit the island of females, and remain with them for three successive months—namely, March, April, and May, each man occupying a separate habitation along with his wife. They then return to the island of males, where they continue all the rest of the year without the society of any female. The wives retain the sons with them until they are of the age of twelve years, when they are sent to join their fathers. The daughters they keep at home until they become marriageable, and then they bestow them upon some of the men of the other island. This mode of living is occasioned by the peculiar nature of the climate, which does not allow of their remaining all the year with their wives, unless at the risk of falling a sacrifice. They

* See "Marco Polo," chap. xxxiv.

have a bishop, who is subordinate to the see of the Island of 'Soccotera.'"

Marco Polo makes also some interesting remarks regarding the condition of the Christians of the Island, which I also copy.*

"All the people, both male and female, go nearly naked, having only a scanty covering before and behind like the idolaters who have been described. They have no other grain than rice, upon which, with flesh and milk, they subsist. Their religion is Christianity, and they are duly baptized, and are under the government, as well temporal as spiritual, of an archbishop, who is not in subjection to the Pope of Rome, but to a patriarch, who resides in the city of Bagdad, by whom he is appointed; or if elected by the people themselves, by whom their choice is confirmed. Many pirates resort to this island with the goods they have captured, which the natives purchase of them without any scruple, justifying themselves on the ground of their being plundered from idolaters and Saracens. All ships bound to the province of Aden touch here, and make large purchases of fish and of ambergris, as well as of various kinds of cotton goods manufactured on the spot.

"The inhabitants deal more in sorcery and witchcraft than any other people, although forbidden by their archbishop, who excommunicates and anathematises them for the sin. Of this, however, they

* See "Marco Polo," chap. xxxv.

make little account; and, if any vessel belonging to a pirate should injure one of theirs, they do not fail to lay him under a spell, so that he cannot proceed on his cruise until he has made satisfaction for the damage. Even although the wind should be fair and leading, they have the power of causing it to change, and thereby of obliging the vessel, in spite of everything, to return to the island. They can, in like manner, cause the sea to become calm, and, at their will, can raise a tempest, occasion shipwrecks, and produce many other extraordinary effects that need not be particularized."

The above account of the Christians of Southern Asia, by an European Christian travelling in the 13th century, will suffice to give a "glimpse" of what they were nearly six centuries ago.

A modern English traveller has supplied recent information of the social and religious state of an ancient Christian tropical country, which, having been isolated for centuries from European influence, affords an example of rare interest in solving the question as to the possibility of a pure faith and practice being maintained in such regions and under such circumstances. Major W. Cornwallis Harris* says, "There are perhaps more churches in Abyssinia than in any other part of the world." Again he says of the Christians of Abyssinia, "All ideas regarding salvation are (with them) vague and indefinite; and vain foolish doctrines

* "Highlands of Ethiopia."

have taken entire possession of the shallow thoughts of the Christians of Ethiopia. Born amidst falsehood and deceit, cradled in bloodshed, and nursed in the arms of idleness and debauchery, the national character is truly painted in the confession of one of her degenerate sons, to wit, "Whensoever we behold pleasing ware we steal it, and we are never in the company of a man whom we dislike that we do not wish to kill him on the spot." Again, the author states, "A Shoa girl is estimated according to the value of her property." Again, "Matrimony is occasionally solemnized by the Church in a manner somewhat similar to the observance in more civilized lands." Again, "But this fast binding is not relished by the inhabitants of Shoa, and it is of very rare occurrence. Favourite slaves and concubines are respected as much as wedded wives. No distinction is made between legitimate and illegitimate children; and, to the extent of his means, every subject follows the example set by the monarch, who, it has been seen, entertains upon his establishment, in addition to his lawful spouse, no fewer than five hundred concubines." Again, "All conjugal affection is lost sight of, and each woman is in turn cast aside in neglect. Few married couples ever live together without violating their vows." Again, "The jewel chastity is here in no repute." Again, "Morality is thus at the very lowest ebb." Again, "The soft savage requires but little inducement to follow the bent of

her passions, according to the dictates of unenlightened nature; and neither scruples of conscience nor the rules of their loose society, form any obstacle whatever to their entire gratification." Again, "In their houses," the author states, "that a bullock's hide is stretched upon the mud floor on which for mutual warmth all the inferior members of the family lie huddled together *in puris naturalibus*."

Such is the condition into which tropical Christians fall, when left to themselves. Such is their state when severed from the northern apostle with his influence and example. There is no difference between their social state and that of the Mahomedan and Pagan of the same latitude. Is it *climate*, then, that destroys the virtue of the man and the Christian? The Abyssinian Christians, as a nation, are an example of the lowest grade to which an originally pure and chaste religion has fallen. And if we search for the highest grade, we must turn our eyes to the nations of northern Europe and their temperate colonies. There are many middle grades of Christianity to be found in other regions. Woman is the great pillar of a pure faith; and where she is energetic, she exercises her power and influence; where she is enfeebled by the climate, hard usage, or inauspicious circumstances, she abandons them, and virtue is not to be found in her nation.

Viewing the subject in its social bearings only, and avoiding a discussion on the doctrines of the

faith in which there may be much controversy on its broad basis within the bounds of Christianity, it will be seen that the condition of woman affects, in the closest degree, the general state of a community. When she is on equal terms with the man, then does her influence tend to conserve society; when she is degraded below that position, then is her influence lost to that end. In Christian Europe she is the equal of man as in Germany of old. In other regions, where her condition is degraded, there can be no Christianity in the English sense of the term. With the institution of polygamy, therefore, that great degrader of womankind, the Christian missionary can have no truce, even though a Colenso should wink at it. Were Christian missionaries to abate a jot of their faith or practice in this respect for the sake of proselytes, then would the vice redound to their own destruction. *It would insensibly deteriorate their own principles.* They would carry virtue out of England, but they would, on their return, inoculate their native soil with the principles of libertinism. The mission of the Christian priest is full of difficulties ten thousand times greater than the young and inexperienced enthusiast can imagine. The success of missions no one can foretell; their efforts we may gaze upon with wonder—their results we cannot anticipate—their workings we cannot understand.

The *beau-idéal* of a Christian family we can picture in the father and mother living in this world

only for each other—in hope and resignation of that which is to come,—the brothers and sisters (their offspring) chaste, and having due respect and obedience to their parents. In such a case love is strong, and affection undying. *The finest attributes of human nature are brought out.* This *beau-idéal* is a plant of northern growth; in the tropics it is an exotic—to be reared with tenderness, and watched with the most untiring care. To diffuse this plant over the tropics is a great work; its benefits are incalculable to all nations, but the difficulties are prodigious. Physiologists tell us that, in the tropics, pure European blood dies out in the third generation. Then how is the exotic to be maintained? It must be replaced by fresh draughts. If Christian missions are to be of permanent good, this must be done: there must be constant effort. A chaste example must be set by constantly renewed apostles. Temporary evangelization, followed by total abandonment, is of no avail. The monstrous and bloody Taepings of China are the offspring of such partial teaching. English Christianity must be upheld in the tropics by the constant presence of the English missionary, otherwise it dies out, as does English blood; or it mixes with, and partakes of, the heathenism surrounding it. This conviction grates against philanthropy—still it is no less natural than true. Were there not stagnant atmosphere, and deadly exhalations in the tropics, then the refreshing trade-winds

might cease to blow in upon, and purify, these regions. The natural course of these currents might stop for any use that might attend them. In like manner it follows that the white man's mission must constantly flow into, and revive, the fainting and wearied in the sultry East.

If we glance at past history, we shall find that there has been a constant flow of humanity from northern regions towards the vertical sun. The flow has been as constant as the currents of the elements. Nation has settled on nation, and tribe on tribe. Like the movements of the Vandals, the Alans, and the Lombards, of the west, have been the movements of the Arians, the Moguls, and Mongols of the east. Humanity has never stood still; but there have been constant mutations of tribes, families, and languages; and so will it be as long as nature holds its course. Then so long as Christian Europe's power predominates, so long as Christian Europe's mission lasts—so long must her efforts be constant in elevating and christianizing the populations given to her sway. The area is vast—the people innumerable—there is room for one hundred London Missionary Societies, and there is work for one hundred thousand apostles. Were the arena open to Christian missions, spread out so that the mind could take all at one grasp, it would appal the senses—it would blind the sight. The labours of hundreds would sink into insignificance, unless maintained constantly and continuously.

One apostle must succeed another; when one falls, another must be ready to press forward. With the acceptance of extended empire in the Far East, England's responsibilities extend proportionately.

A "glimpse" at this great theme is all that can be attempted in this little book. In the attempt, we must treat of the two sects of Christians separately. Mention may be made of the great but evanescent success of the Roman church, three hundred years ago, when millions of converts, throughout India, China, and Japan clung to the standard of the Cross. But, from various causes, the converts diminished and died out, so that these modern times found the work had to be recommenced. The peace of Europe during the past forty years permitted this. The most energetic and enterprising labourers in missions to the Far East, in these modern times, have been those of the French propaganda. Thirty years ago the missionaries of this Society had penetrated into many parts of Asia, including Corea, Tartary, China, Cochin China, Siam, &c. The travels of M. Huc are known to all. His confreres were numerous, though it may be their exertions are less celebrated. These French missionaries braved hunger, stripes, torture, and death, in many parts; and they met martrydom with a calmness and a heroism which a strong faith, and an unswerving purpose alone could support. Their labours were principally amongst the Bhuddists, whose church ceremonies

have a close resemblance to those of Rome, however great the differences may be in principles and dogmas. Great success attended the efforts of these missionaries, more especially in Cochin China. Here the Right Rev. Dr. Le Fevre, Bishop of Isauropolis, in his details respecting Cochin China, says (see "Jour. Ind. Arch." vol. i., p. 62), "that this polygamy is the greatest obstacle to the progress of the Christian religion amongst the great, but not at all amongst the people." In other words, amongst the Bhuddist population of Cochin China, the superior intelligence of the French priest asserts an easy sway over the poorer classes of the people, and converts those who have no wives or concubines to part with, being generally so poor as to be only able to support one, or none at all. This being the case, the poorer classes are easily persuaded to bow to the Lord of this superior intelligence, represented to their eyes by the image of Christ, and to set aside the image of Bhudda, who is the Lord of an ignorant and worthless priesthood, degraded to the position of mere servitors of the shrine. But it is otherwise with the wealthy Bhuddists, who, while they despise their own priesthood, maintain them for governmental policy, and content themselves with an ethical philosophy in lieu of a religion. Thus they despise all priesthood whatsoever, and are little inclined to give up their habits of sensual enjoyments, which their riches lavishly procure, and to which they are slavishly addicted.

These wealthy Bhuddists of Cochin China, holding all places of influence and power, were the great opponents and cruel oppressors of the French missionaries. Great events have taken place in that country lately—to which I merely allude.

With the Mahomedan populations, the Romish missions have had no success. Mahomedanism, as Burrows says, is a strong faith—besides, it ignores the worship or the semblance of worship of images; and, during my intercourse with Mahomedans, I never met one who did not maintain that Roman Catholics were idolaters, just as the Hindoos and Bhuddists are. Between the Roman Catholic missions of France and the Protestant missions of England and America there is much variance of principle in action. An unmarried priesthood is naturally more enterprising than a priesthood bound down by the cares of the world. Thus, while the former, heedless of personal safety, have spread themselves over jealously-guarded regions, the latter have held by the settlements of European powers (of course, with exceptions), for the sake of protection to themselves and families. For the forty years during which these Protestant missions have been established in the Malayan Archipelago there has been no apparent progress made. Not that the missionaries were not earnest in their undertakings, but that all their labour seemed to be in vain. The Protestant mission to the Malays was strong and numerous; but it worked against hope

till the lives of the members had been spent. Some withdrew with disgust at fruitless toil, others sought more promising spheres of labour. Hundreds of thousands of English and American money must have been spent on these missions to the Far East; but when I left the provinces connected with Malacca, I was not cognizant of any apparent progress.

I say "apparent progress," for if I know anything of human nature, I may assume that such earnest single-minded men as Morrison and Milne could not have been in contact with the ingenuous natives of the East without leaving an impress upon them. The Protestant missionary's labour was less brilliant than that of the Roman Catholic; his toils were not the less heavy; his life was not the less made a sacrifice to the cause he had espoused. His undertaking was eminently more laborious, and immeasurably more difficult. It was his task to implant a pure faith, having no visible symbols, amongst an ignorant, immoral, and superstitious people. A faith which ignored the images and idols of the Pagan, and the demons, spirits, and dreams of the Mahomedan—a faith which denounced the most intimate social habits of the natives, could not be imparted without much instruction in literature—without much devotion to the ceaseless duties of the class-room and the study. *The Protestant missionary's task was to alter the habits and genius of a people.* A mighty labour! Truly brave were

those who undertook the task. All honour to them, even though the fruit has been scanty, and their labour has hitherto been like that of Tantalus!

I said the Protestant missions had been "apparently" unsuccessful in the Far East up to the time of my leaving those regions. What may have been done since, I have no means of knowing. Notwithstanding the apparent want of success, I had often reason to observe, in the young natives who had been indebted for their education to the missionaries, that a new light had been cast upon them. Their respect for their instructors was unbounded. From culture of the mind, their thoughts took a wider range—a more independent tone. If they had not cast off the superstitions of their fathers, it was in respect to ancient family customs only—not that they had any longer faith in them. To become Christians, they had only a step to take, but that would involve the loss of father and mother, sister and brother. These ties are the most potent in all hearts: no wonder that they hesitated.

I have already written of Abdulla Moonshee, a native so long connected with the first English Protestant missionaries to the Malayan Archipelago. He has left an interesting account of his observations on them, and their several doings, which is to be found in his autobiography, written in the Malay language. As, during my various wanderings, I have preserved a copy in manuscript, I have translated it, not being aware that this has been previously

done. I believe that the observations of a Mahomedan native, on a topic so near to the English heart, will be found to be curious and entertaining. It is as follows:—

"To go on with my autobiography. It was in the Mahomedan year 1239, *i.e.* in the year of the Messiah, 1823, that English missionaries first came to Malacca. They consisted of a man and his wife, with their girl and twin boys. And the name of the missionary was Mr. Milne,* and the name of his daughter was Maria, and the names of his twins were William and Robert.

"At the period of this gentleman's first arrival he stayed in the fort, where he commenced a school to teach children English. And when he had been thus teaching for ten or fifteen days, I first got the news of that English missionary's arrival, and of his teaching children gratuitously, wherein he neither took fees nor other expenses; but he provided paper, ink, pens, and such like. When I got the news, I was delighted; for I still remembered the advice of Lord Minto (whom the author had met when that nobleman visited Malacca) and Sir Stamford Raffles, which was, that if I learnt English it would be of great service to me by-and-by; so, ever since I heard these words, I had fixed them in my mind. Now in Malacca in those days it was a most difficult thing to obtain a knowledge of English; for there was not yet a school, and when the

* The Rev. William Milne, coadjutor of Dr. Morrison.

sons of the wealthy were anxious to learn that language, they were forced to engage teachers to come to their houses at high rates. Even then the teacher was inferior; for he would not be a true Englishman, but only a Nazarene (Indo-European) who had come from Madras, or else a Hollander who had learnt but little of English. Such were the teachers of Malacca; and they charged high. Thus at that time not one of the various races in Malacca knew how to read or to speak English correctly, owing to this lack of teachers.

"To proceed:—One day I went to make the acquaintance of Mr. Milne, and to see what he looked like, and to gain some information with regard to his circumstances, as I never had seen an English missionary, or even heard tidings of such a person. I had seen the Portuguese missionary, and observed how he taught the young.

"It was about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, when I arrived at the house and waited at the outside of the venetian windows, for I was afraid to enter, whence I observed that he was engaged teaching children. I soon perceived that he appeared to be an ordinary English gentleman. When he observed me, I bowed, saying, 'Good morning, sir,' for that was all the English I was master of at that time; and which I had learnt from Sir Stamford Raffles' clerk. When Mr. Milne heard this, he returned the salute, and came out and took me into his school-room. Imagining that I was clever at English,

he asked me where I had learnt the language; but I could not reply, as I did not understand what he said. But there was a boy present who explained the question to me. I was then asked if I could read and write Malay, to which I replied, 'A little, sir.' Mr. Milne then went into a room and brought out two or three books of the gospel in the Malayan character, which had been printed. When I observed this, I was much astonished, for I never had seen Malay in print, so I scanned the books closely, and I could recognise them all, only they were very erroneously pointed; for in the Malay, points are not used so profusely as in Arabic. I was distressed that there should be so many kinds of Malay writing in this world, and considering the subject to myself, the thought suggested itself to ask the gentleman as to the composers of these books. To this he replied, that the Hollanders had composed them, and translated them into Malay. Then I asked, 'What are these books?' to which he replied, 'that they were the gospels,' adding, 'take this one and read it.' I thanked him and took the book. I then said, 'Sir, I am very desirous to learn English,' to which he replied, 'Very well, I will teach you; but you must teach me Malay reading in return.' To this I answered, 'Very good, I will come to-morrow,' so I bowed and returned to my home, much pleased. Pleasure the first was, that I had got a book for nothing. Pleasure the second, that I had heard the words of Mr. Milne, and observed

his agreeable conversation and polite bearing; and, pleasure the third, that he had promised to teach me English. So I wished to see how the book sounded, and to learn its contents, for I took it to be a history, as at that time I was very fond of reading histories. I had obtained much benefit from their perusal, for in them I had learnt the numerous mysteries of the Malay language; so wherever there was a history to be borrowed with which I was not previously acquainted, I used every means to obtain a sight of it. I then read it through, and returned it when finished. It was in these that I was best read; for in them I found a stay to rest upon; and by them, under God's grace, I by degrees attained the ability to relate the following details:—

"And I may digress from my narrative to suggest to those friends who may peruse this autobiography of mine, that they could not fail to be interested were they to make acquaintanceship with Malayan histories. For in them are to be found many precious things, which at present might appear of no value, but whose future use would be great, especially should it come to pass that you wish to compose a work—or at such times that people ask you the meaning of phrases and their application. Verily on such occasions, you would recollect that you had met with the phrase in history, and that its use was such, and its meaning so-and-so. It may be true, as we all know, that there

are more lies than truth in history;* but let that be, —I do not ask you to believe the fables to be found in histories, yet even though the fables be many, the truths remain in their places. Further, you should bear in mind, that the men who composed these histories were clever men, so let us lay hold of the skill and science; and, when we have attained to a competent knowledge of all the mysteries, then will we ourselves be able to compose, using what we may desire of the facts, with a full understanding of their meaning and phrases.

"Notwithstanding all this, how many do we see with a knowledge of Malay reading and writing, and of Malay history, yet, when we ask them the meaning of a phrase which they are reading, they are disconcerted and know not what to answer. The reason of this is, that such persons are neither skilled nor scientific, but are mere quacks. This is very generally the case with those who have gone the length to learn to read only, which is of little use to them, as they cannot compose anything by this measure of learning, nor undertake any independent work. Such people may have all the material, but they know not their use nor their manner of application. Then how can they become skilled? By main force would they be skilled, but they only destroy their tools and the articles they are desirous of making. The latter also they destroy, and in due course the tools waste with rust, and their igno-

* Characteristic and true of Malayan history.

rance. Now when phrases are properly set, their sound is sweet, and their words in place; but when not properly set, they are as awkward as one puzzled as to the method of pulling up thorns.

"But to return to my narrative regarding the book which was given me by Mr. Milne:—When I got home I sat down to read it, spelling at the signs slowly, till I had finished one page. Then I got on faster, night after night, till the book was nigh finished: but as to the book, the letters were Malay, and the sounds were Malay, but the idiom was not. The phrases were also out of place, and the affixes and prefixes incorrect, so I was unable to get at the meaning of the text, it sounded so strangely in my ears. I thought to call it the white man's book, but I did not know the white man's language; so I wondered, and sat musing about the circumstances of the book. True, I was fascinated with the beautiful lettering and binding of the book, but the words had no meaning to me. It appeared to be neither Malay nor English, so I did not know what to think of it. At length I concluded that it had been the work of slaves—the labour and expense being great, but the words of no value. Next morning I showed it to my neighbours; and of those who read it, some could not proceed, while others made great efforts, but could not make head or tail of it. All, at the same time, found fault with me, saying, 'Don't read that book; throw it away. It is the white man's Bible, and

will unhinge your faith!' Then I replied to them, 'How do you know that this is the white man's Bible? is it not Malay? and how will it unhinge one's faith? What is the meaning of faith? Is it not what we know or believe? Now consider a moment; were I to read a thousand books on other religions, and were I not to believe them, will that unhinge my faith? I will not listen to this foolish talk.' So none could reply.

"After it had struck ten, I went to Mr. Milne; and when I arrived, I bowed to him; on which he called me into his room, and he said, 'Did you read the book last night?' I replied, 'Yes, Sir.' Then, said he, 'Is it in the proper Malay idiom?' I replied, 'Not at all, Sir; the book is not in the idiom of the Malay language.' 'Then what is it?' he asked. I replied, 'I don't know, Sir. Whoever composed that book knew nothing of the language;' and on this being interpreted to him, he gave a smile, and, going into his inner apartment, he brought out a Malay and English dictionary. He then asked what is the meaning of one thing and then of another, as I reckon, fifty or sixty times: such as *patek*, and *sanghasaan*, and *sa-sangha-nia*, and *sangsara*, and so on? I replied to each question in a moment, and he verified the correctness of my answer by the book. On looking at the dictionary I perceived that the words were of the Malay language of Malacca, and such as I was acquainted with. I then asked, 'Who compiled

this book?' to which he replied, that it was compiled by a man of great abilities, called Mr. Marsden. Upon which I observed, 'All his book is correct Malay, but the book you gave me yesterday is not.' He smiled, and then brought a Malay grammar, composed by the same author, and showing it to me, asked me to read a letter that was in it, and I read it, on which he exclaimed, 'That is true Malay.' To this I assented, saying that it was properly composed, on which he smiled, and considering a moment, said, 'Try yourself to compose a letter such as I would like to show to a gentleman that knows the language. I replied, 'Very good;' and he gave me a pen, ink, and paper, when I wrote to the following effect, viz:—

"'Verily, if any one would instruct other races, it is necessary that he should first know his own language, so that there may be benefit in what he imparts to the scholar.' After I had done writing this he took it, and told me to come next morning, without fail.

"I went next morning, at ten o'clock; and when I arrived at the door Mr. Milne bowed, and asked me to enter, saying, 'Your name, I understand, is Abdulla?' to which I replied, 'Yes.' He then asked if I had been engaged with Sir Stamford Raffles? I replied that I had. Then said he, with a smile, 'You can become a teacher to myself, for there are gentlemen who inform me that you are learned in Malay.' I replied, 'Sir, I am young

and inexperienced, and ignorant, how can I become your instructor? for they that are instructors are not young men, and they must possess five things—First, they must be experienced; second, they must not pride themselves on their acquirements; third, they must be guiltless of evil and foolishness, and bear with difficulties; fourth, they must be familiar with the various phrases, their derivation, and proper application; fifth, they must be assiduous and attentive. If they have not these requisites, they cannot be instructors.'* To this he replied, 'Very well said. I have long sought for an instructor, being desirous to learn Malay; three Malay instructors have offered themselves for the duty, and I have asked them to explain words that are in the dictionary, and they could not—telling me that they were not Malay, but the white man's language. Others came again on the morrow, on the same errand, and I asked them if they had learnt Malay; but they said, 'Why learn Malay, Sir? that is our own language.' To which I replied, 'Then if you have not, how can you undertake to teach other persons?' So they went away, without even saying good-bye to me. They were angry because I had asked the question; and only yesterday an old man offered himself as my instructor, and upon my asking him how many vowels (*bunii*, literally sounds,) there were in the Malay language? he replied, 'Who

* Oh, vanity of vanities! poor Abdulla!

can tell that? there are tens of thousands!' I laughed at the extent of his stupidity. Then said I to him, 'How can you become my instructor when you don't even know the Malay vowels?' On this the old man became angry, and replied, that though the hairs of his head had become white, he never heard people asking about vowels in Malay, and off he went. 'Now, Sir,' said Mr. Milne, 'I wish to ask you how many vowels there are in Malay?' To this I replied, 'You have asked this question from an old man, and he could not tell you; then how am I, a youngster, to do it?' 'Then,' said he, 'Try and think.' I said, 'There are three vowels in the Malay language. 'What?' said he. To which I replied, 'Above, below, and before.' Said he, 'What do you mean?' To this I replied, 'They are the signs of reading in Arabic, or in the Koran, and are *fat-hah*, the upper sign; *kisra*, the lower sign; and *zamah*, the sign before: and because of the Malays not using the Arabic signs, they make *fat-hah* into *alif*, *kisrah* into *iya*, and *zamah* into *wow*; and their sound is *a*, *ei*, *ou*!' Then, said he, 'That is correct;' and on this day he agreed with me, saying, 'Come daily to me to teach me, between the hours of ten a.m., and one p.m., as during these hours I can apply myself to Malay and also teach you English writing. And I will also allow you ten dollars a month.' To this I replied, 'Very well, Sir.' He added, 'In a little while many of my friends are coming, who will be

desirous of learning Malay, and it will give me much pleasure if you master the English language, as you would thus help us to learn Malay to perfection.'

"To proceed:—on that very same day he began to write the letters *alif*, *ba*, *ta*, this was his commencement, and to me he gave a little book which he called 'spelling book,' whereby he taught me the English letters and their sounds. Thus I was engaged daily—I taught him first, and then he taught me. In about three months' time he began to be acquainted with the letters, and could read a little, but still not with facility. As for myself, I got acquainted with two new languages, for at that time Mr. Milne was learning the Canton Chinese dialect, with the assistance of a Chinese teacher lately arrived, who was called Lee Sin Siang. Between this Chinese and myself an intimacy arose; for he wanted to learn Malay, while I had thoughts of learning Chinese; and so it came about that he and I taught each other daily, as the Malay proverb goes, 'whilst diving—drinking;' for to my ideas it is better to know than not to know; and if I learnt not while I was young, there would be no time when age came on, for then only would be the time for repentance.

"Moreover, I observed the bearing and deportment of Mr. Milne to be those of a gentleman. His conversation was polite and refined. Even in anger his countenance gleamed with mildness. He

was indefatigable in studying all things, and had a retentive memory. If I taught him anything in one month and asked him for it in the next, he could answer correctly. Now while I was teaching him, and was being taught, a Mr. Thomsen came to Malacca, bringing his wife with him, and he took up his abode behind that of Mr. Milne. So one day, said Mr. Milne to me, 'A new missionary has come, and he wishes to learn Malay, and I have told him that I have a teacher who can instruct him. At four o'clock go and wait on him, to see him.' I said, 'Very well,' and went at four; and when he saw me come, he called me up-stairs and asked me to be seated, saying, at the same time, 'You are teacher to Mr. Milne?' To this I replied, 'Yes, sir.' Then said he, slowly, 'If you wish to teach me, I wish to learn.' I replied, 'I don't know, sir, but if you wish to learn, I will teach you.' He smiled, and said, 'I know you by name, for a gentleman in Batavia told me your name was Abdulla.' I replied, 'It is, sir.' He asked, 'Were you in Sir Stamford Raffles' employment?' I replied, 'Yes, sir.' 'Did he give you testimonials?' I replied, 'Yes, sir.' Then said he, 'Try and bring these to-morrow morning for me to see.' So I said, 'Very well,' bade him good-bye, and returned to Mr. Milne. Now as I was on my way, it struck me that the tone of Mr. Thomsen's voice was that of a Dutchman's, as whatever he said had a guttural tone; so I thought to myself, that

if this man wishes to learn Malay, there will be some trouble, and his progress will be slow, owing to his difficulty of pronunciation.* Besides, when I scanned his general deportment, he appeared to to be a man of low breeding, and destitute of propriety. All this I noticed, and surmised that he was not a true Englishman. So when I arrived at Mr. Milne's, he asked me if I had met Mr. Thomsen. I replied that I had. 'What did he say?' I told Mr. Milne, accordingly, all that had passed; so he said, then go to-morrow as his teacher. Then said I, 'What kind of man is he?' Mr. Milne replied, 'He is a European; why ask?' I said, 'I thought that he was not English.' Then said he, 'How can you know?' I replied, 'I know it by his tongue that he is not English.' On this he laughed, saying, 'You are clever at knowing English from other nations.' Then said he, 'You are right, he is not an Englishman, but a German.' I was surprised at this, for during my life I never had heard that there was a race called Germans. I suggested that he was a Nazarene (Portuguese)? but Mr. Milne said, 'No, he is a European, and the above is the name of his distinct race.' Then said I, 'It will be very difficult for him to learn Malay; his pronunciation is so very thick, and his speech is so guttural.' On this he said, 'Don't mention that, or he will be angry.' I assented, and said, 'Very good, sir.'

* A guttural accent is very obnoxious to the soft Malay.

"To proceed:—On the morrow, at ten o'clock, I brought the testimonial that Sir Stamford Raffles had given me, which he read and showed to his wife, and smiled. Then said Mr. Thomsen, 'You can become my teacher, for Mr. Milne is studying Chinese, so has no time for Malay, but I will give my attention entirely to Malay till I shall be perfect in it.' I smiled to hear him say so. Then he added, 'Malay is very easy to learn; in two years' time I will thoroughly master it;' and he went on to say that for one word of Malay there were ten of English, as had been shown to him. At this the thought struck me, that this is not only a clever man, but that all things are easy to him; still, if he had no intention to correct his pronunciation, two years would not see him able to speak a single word correctly, let alone his being perfect in that time. I replied, 'If you can perfect yourself in three months' time I shall be delighted, as I shall thereby gain a good name; but wait till I speak to Mr. Milne, for as he directs I shall obey.' So I took leave, and proceeded to Mr. Milne, and told him what had passed. Then said Mr. Milne, laughing, 'Do as he tells you, for this is his way; he likes people to do as he tells them, and if he be thwarted, he falls into a passion. Come to me for two hours daily, and then go to him. He will teach you English, as he gives his attention entirely to Malay, while I am desirous to master Chinese. This is the reason why I have

no time for Malay. He will give you fifteen dollars a-month, and I will give you five.' I assented to this, and continued to teach Messrs. Milne and Thomsen daily. I was early led to compare the manners and dispositions of the two gentlemen, and noticed much difference. Mr. Milne would recognize all my corrections, either in orthography or etymology; but not so Mr. Thomsen. When I corrected the latter he would argue, saying, 'It is not right that way; this way is correct:' this he did, perhaps, in a passion. His disposition was such as the Malays describe by the adage, 'Rain returns to the sky;' it appeared as if he was to teach me. Astonished was I at the ways of mankind, who exalt themselves as alone being clever. At these times I bore with him till he got time to consider and coincide. I was patient; for I saw that he was a stranger who had not yet gained experience. At times, owing to his passionate temper, I allowed him to go on, right or wrong, as he listed, without checking him, as it was hard to expostulate with him. But on these occasions, after he had looked into the dictionary and found his mistakes, he would fly in a passion at me, demanding why I had allowed him to speak incorrectly. In this way he made thousands of mistakes. All these circumstances I related to Mr. Milne, who advised me to have patience a little while, as Mr. Thomsen was a beginner, and would betimes come to be sensible of his mistakes.

"To proceed:—After Mr. Thomsen had studied three or four months, and before he could pronounce words, for *jekalau* he called *jacklow*, *orang* he called *orangang*, *trang* he called *trangang*, and so forth. Thus, though his pronunciation was so defective, yet he essayed to be a writer and composer of Malay, and commenced to meddle with the three vowels which regulate the sounds of all other letters of the alphabet. These are *alif*, *eia*, and *wow*, and into all words he ordered these to be inserted.* These he would not dispense with, saying that the Malay scholars are wrong in leaving out the vowels so often. Thus, into the word *jekalau* he ordered *eia* to be inserted, which thereby became *jei-kalau*; and into *dangan* he ordered *alif* to be inserted, which thereby became *da-angan*; and into *meleinkan* he ordered *alif* to be inserted, which thereby became *mela-einkan*. In the same way he changed *mengtaui* to *mengtahu-wi*, *tingal* to *tee-angal*, *kabijakan* to *kabajeeka-an*, *kajahatan* to *kaja-hataan*, *mar dika* to *mardahika*, *teluk* to *telo-uk*, *zina* to *zina-a*, *kreja* to *kreja-a*; but I cannot spare room for all these matters in my autobiography.† Besides the above, he severed words that should be joined, and joined words that

* Malay spelling is peculiar in leaving out the vowels, and to Europeans this appears to be a defect in their literature.

† Were a German to come to England, and, after three months' study, order his English teacher to spell "if" as "aif," "with" as "wiath," "proceed" as "peroceed," what would the English teacher think of the German? Abdulla looked upon the missionary in the same manner.

should be severed. I at length began to think to myself that he did not intend to study Malay, but to spoil it, his idea being to make Malays follow him as they would a very learned professor. Added to this, he ordered me to write in the above manner; but I declined to obey him; for it was opposed to my education and experience. Then he pressed me to write so; but I said, 'It is not correct, sir; I cannot do so. If you wish spelling to be done in this way, seek another man.' When he heard this he almost burst with rage, crying, 'You, my servant, and refuse to do my bidding!' I replied, 'that I did not take hire to do wrong; for, by-and-by, when people saw my performance, they would certainly dub me a fool.' I added that I did not understand being a teacher to instruct falsely. 'I am ashamed to do what you bid me, sir; so do, sir, seek another man.' On saying this I left him; and, when I had left, he went and complained of me to Mr. Milne, telling him that he had ordered Abdulla to write, and he refused even to stop with him.

"On the morrow I went to teach Mr. Milne; and, on seeing me, he asked why I would not obey Mr. Thomsen's directions yesterday, and why I had left his service? When I heard Mr. Milne speak so, it went to my very heart, and I asked him, 'How long have I done work for you; and have I ever been disagreeable, or have I ever disobeyed your commands? It is because Mr. Thomsen elevates

himself into a Malay professor, and, with his new-fangled notions, wishes to upset the literature of the Malays, and institute another system out of his own self-conceit. What use can an instructor be to him? let him please himself.' Then said Mr. Milne, 'Did I not entreat you to be patient, for it is his way.' To this I replied, 'How can I have patience when he wishes to upset the words and letters of the Malay language? Were he to offer me fifty dollars a-month I would not teach him. He would destroy my reputation with my countrymen when they came to see such writing. He himself knowing little of the language, how can he presume to teach me? How could this go on?' Then said Mr. Milne, 'What do you mean?' So I related the whole circumstances, and asked him to examine my writing, and compare it with the dictionary, and that if he found any mistakes, to discharge me. I added, 'Compare also my orthography.' Then said Mr. Milne, 'I will go myself and look over it.' So he went to the house of Mr. Thomsen, and compared my writing with the dictionary. He also compared that done by the orders of Mr. Thomsen, and, in a short time, returned with a smile on his face. He then said, 'I have compared your writing, and find it all correct, but his is all wrong. I told Mr. Thomsen this, but he then insisted that the dictionary itself was wrong, because it followed the Malay system of orthography, which was also wrong.'

On hearing this, I suggested to Mr. Milne, 'Is not Mr. Marsden the highest authority, either amongst English, or Dutch, or other nations: is he to be excelled? But here Mr. Thomsen, in his self-conceit, talks of making a dictionary; then if he be so clever, let him make another sort. Consider this fact, sir, that he tries to make acknowledged authorities to be wrong, then how much the more will he not find fault with me, who am a youngster and unlearned? If it is to be so, let him look-out for another man to teach him.' Then said Mr. Milne, 'Wait, he will come to reason.'

"So for five days I did not go to Mr. Thomsen, and I heard that he called five or six other Malays to consult them, and take their opinion as to the new style of spelling which he intended to institute. But they all told him that his writing was wrong, and must have been done under the advice of an ignorant person, and that they had never seen the like, nor could they imagine from whence it came. So he was silent, but he argued with them in their assertions that it was wrong, in the hope that they would allow that it was right. All this was repeated to me, but I kept quiet for two or three days, and I learned that another man had engaged to teach him, but he only remained twelve days, and then left. And another went in his place, but he also only staid a short while.

"Moreover Mr. Missionary Milne got another house for a dwelling, situated outside of the gate of

Tranquera. This had been the house of the harbour-master of Malacca, called Mr. Lamb (Alam?) who had left as his agent Tomby Ahmea Sahib, a Kling, as they are called in Malacca. Now Mr. Milne arranged to buy land at Ujong Passir, and exchange it for the above. And the breadth of this land I reckon to be forty fathoms; but the length may be a thousand fathoms, as it extends as far as the river. The house was an old one. To this place Mr. Milne removed from the fort. Now by this time his twin boys, William and Robert, had turned out to be smart lads—the third child, Maria, (Malia?) being a girl. As I went daily to teach Mr. Milne, the boys became familiar with me, insomuch so that they came to my house to eat and drink. Under such circumstances I became fond of them, and they of me. Further, Mrs. Milne was a nice lady, drawing one's affection and regard with gentleness and sweetness of countenance. Her heart was generous to all poor people. Now she retained a Chinese woman on wages, to sew her children's clothes, and the woman came to her one day saying that her child had fallen sick from the Pontianak and Polong, and was near dying. Mrs. Milne did not understand anything about Pontianaks and Polongs, and having inquired of the Chinese woman in every way she could think of, by words and signs, yet she could not understand. So they both came into the room in which I was teaching, and inquired what were Pontianaks and Polongs.

I laughed, and explained all about the evil spirits (hantu sheitan) believed in by Chinese and Malays, at least by the ignorant of them; the belief being the idle custom of their ancestors in olden times, which has been brought down to these present days. As to a variety of their tales, it is not in my power to relate, as I do not understand their various ramifications, but only their superficials. Such details as I know regarding evil spirits are as follows, to wit, hantu sheitan, polong, pontianak, peningalan, jin, palibat, mumbang, hantu-pemburu, hantu-riniba, jadi-jadian, hantu-bungkus, buta-gergasi, raks-hasa, naneh-kabayan, hambasan, sawon, hantu-mati debunoh-bajang, katakoran, sampakan, fofekan, aparet, jambalang, terkina-obatguna, and there are numerous others of which I cannot recollect the details, such as pandook pengasha, kabal, kasaktian, terjoo, alimoon, pendrasa, perapoh, and many more which are believed in by foolish people to be visible to mankind. Mr. Milne was astonished, and asked if I knew the stories about them, to which I replied, 'If I were to relate the whole, it would fill a great volume; and the contents of that volume would be mere foolishness—of no good—and only to be laughed at by men of intelligence.'*

"Then said Mr. Milne, 'Very well, try and tell me about the peningalan; only I wish to hear it, that I may translate it into English, so that all men may

* Abdulla, insensibly to himself, had cast off the superstitions of Mahomedanism relating to evil genii.

know how foolish are the people that believe in these things. So I drew the form of a woman's head, down to the neck only, for her body was in shreds, and Mr. Milne ordered a Chinaman to engrave this on wood, as also the story of it on wooden blocks,* and these he inserted in a periodical called the *Anglo-Chinese Gleaner*. Now as to the story of the peningalan, I related it as follows:— It was originally a woman who possessed one of the powers of Satan. And she had a certain longing, for which she craved day and night till the time promised by her superior was come—this was, that she might fly. So nothing but her head and entrails went forth, whilst her body remained in its place. And whenever she wished to do evil to mankind, she went to suck their blood, and those whose blood she sucked, died. And so it was that if the blood and liquid that dropped from her entrails touched any one, they fell violently sick, even to the bursting of their body. Her peningalan had peculiar delight in sucking the blood of women in child-birth. For this reason it was the custom, when a child was born in a house, to lay down *jaruge* leaves, or thorns, on the floor when the blood falls, lest the peningalan should suck it, for the peningalan is afraid of the thorns entangling its entrails. It is told of a peningalan, which came to a person's house at midnight, desiring to suck her blood, that the

* This is the Chinese system of printing, which the missionary would have recourse to for want of type.

thorns on the fence caught its entrails, and detained it till daybreak, when it was seen by the neighbours, and destroyed. Now in regard to houses which have been entered by the peningalan, the inhabitants must get it into some place, such as a jar, where its entrails can be steeped in liquid; for, by steeping, its entrails swell and cannot come out, to return to its own body. If they do not steep them, they are dangerous, because then they can get back into its own body. Moreover, those people who have seen the peningalan flying, say that its entrails shine brightly in the darkness of the night. Such is the story of the peningalan.

"In regard to the polong (pulang?), its origin is this. He that craves the death of any one, places the blood of a murdered man in a long-necked flask with such incantations and spells as he has been taught. Some say that the spirit has rites paid to it every seven days, while others say twice seven, till there comes a sound in the flask as of young birds. Then people cut their fingers, and drop the blood into the flask, for the polong to suck, and the man who watches it must be a father; or, if a woman watches it, she must be a mother; and they do this daily, and the object of this is that they may gain power. Thus, if they hate a person, they can order the polong to go and destroy that person by causing sickness; or if one person hates another person, he goes to the watcher of the polong, and, feeing him, the watcher lets go the polong into the hated man's house. And

it happens with people who have been struck by the polong—be it his virgin daughter, his wife, or any one—that they scream to their wits' end, tearing and throwing off their clothes, biting and knocking people, becoming deaf and blind, and so forth. And if a person skilled in its cure be called, he will poultice the head with cow-dung, or he will pinch the thumbs. And when the affected is shown medicine, he will bawl out, 'Let him go, I want to return!' Then says the doctor, 'What medicine is that? and I will let you go; if not, you (*i.e.* the spirit) must let me know who ordered you to come here, and the cause of your coming. Who is your father and who is your mother?' And for awhile the spirit will be quiet, and not acknowledge his parents; but, at other times, he acknowledges them, saying, 'I am so-and-so, and my native village is so-and-so; my father is so-and-so, and the cause of my coming is so-and-so. I went to my father, and my father begged assistance, and he feed me with money, because of his hatred to this man.' And thus the spirit lets out and confesses all. But, at other times, he will lie, or he reveals the name of an innocent person. Thus when the skilled person has found out the sender of the evil spirit, and his motives, he will let it go; when immediately the affected one comes to reason again, but sore sick and faint in body. Yet there are other spirits—when they do evil to a man they will not acknowledge it; in which case the hated man screams, and dies in two or three days' time.

And when he dies, the blood gushes out of his mouth, and his body becomes blue."

"On hearing the above narration, Mr. Milne said that he would translate the story of the peningalan into English, and put it into the above-named periodical. This he said with a smile, adding, 'What a foolish set of people to believe these things!'*

"Moreover, there are numerous races of mankind who believe in divers myths that have no existence, and much is the money that goes to pay for the practises in such arts. Every one pays for some motive or other; some pay to gratify their lascivious desires: others pay to gratify their revenge by the murder of their enemies. The motives are various. Now at one time I also believed in the above superstitions with fear, because I listened to the stories when I was young, and I actually trembled when I heard old men relating them. But since I came to the age of understanding and have read books, and mixed with men of sense, and especially with white people, I have begun to look upon these superstitions as lies and impostures.

"To proceed:—To my notion, who am a simpleton and unlearned, it is absurd for people to believe in polongs and peningalans, and the stories connected with them; for their origin lies in the hearts of mankind that have not faith in God and his prophets, and who are ignorant of the ways of God

* Persons possessed of a set of "The Anglo-Chinese Gleaner" may possibly find the above stories in it. That work must now be rare.

Almighty. Now, for this reason, they wave from this side to that, to this belief and to that belief, like unto blind men that have lost their way. But, owing to doubts in my own mind for many years, I admitted things *might* be true; and I went to some personal expense to examine into the truth of the potency of the powers aforesaid, and, having made myself familiar with the mysteries of the arts, by God's grace I found that there was no truth in them. I could see no principle within them whereon to fix my trust. If the arts succeeded once, they failed in a thousand instances, and the single success was not by the power or strength of Satan, but existed merely in the *imagination*. Now, to my ideas, these doings are the same in principle as the doings of men who erect idols; we perfectly well know that these are earth, wood, gold, or silver, neither capable of good nor evil towards mankind; and their power consists only in the trust or faith of mankind, who worship them. Those men set God aside; for it is believed by those foolish people that their idols can bestow benefits, just as it is with the spirits of Satan, as related above. Now all this occurs, to my apprehension, from imposture or falsehood, or else by blind faith, or fault of sight. Under these delusions they dare to take God's name in vain—a desperate wickedness, now and hereafter. Regarding the people who believe or engage in these arts, or who concoct these falsities, the law is, that they sin against God. For there is none other than

God Almighty who can give weal or woe—who can cause death or give life—who can send grief or pleasure to his servants. And if it could be believed that there are other powers besides Him, then also should we expect that this world would be destroyed with all living creatures.*

"To return to my story about Mr. Milne:—A few days after he had removed to his new house, Mr. Thomsen also removed to the same quarter, but no one taught Thomsen, for people got to know his disposition, and were afraid to go near him. At length he came to Mr. Milne, asking that I should teach him; and it happened as he was coming down stairs he met me. He saluted me and said, 'You are angry with me?' I replied, 'No, sir. How do you do?' Said he, 'I am well." After this when I saw Mr. Milne he said, 'Mr. Thomsen has just been here, and he wants you back again to him.' To this I replied, 'How is it that, having called all the savans of Malacca to him, he calls me now? I beg many pardons, but I will not teach him. It is not teaching that he wants, but an opportunity for quarrelling. I do not like this.' Then said Mr. Milne, 'I have spoken to him of this, and he now acknowledges that he was in the wrong: he will now follow your dictation.' I

* In the above paragraph, while Abdulla casts off the superstition of Mahomedanism, he confirms my argument, that the evil spirits and genii of that faith are the same in principle as the idolatry of the Pagans.

replied, 'Then make a strict agreement with him that he is not to be a judge over me, but what I teach let him acquiesce in. If I teach wrong, I will bow to your judgment.' So Mr. Milne wrote all this down in a letter, and told me to take it to Mr. Thomsen, who was then in his apartment. So I received the letter and carried it to Mr. Thomsen. He read it and then said, 'If you agree to teach me, I will acquiesce in what you think to be correct.' Then I replied, 'You must not quarrel with me as before, as I do not like it.' He said, 'Very well.'

"So it was that on that very day I recommenced teaching him, and continued to do so for two or three years. And though I perceived that he had altered much from his former ways, yet, even with that change, he was very slow in learning the Malay idiom. His native guttural remained. And it was with Mr. Thomsen, that when he wished to translate English into Malay he would keep by the English idiom; still would he place the Malay words as they stood in the English order. His translations thus appeared very strange in the Malay language; and in this affair I had frequent wranglings, owing to the unmeaningness of his composition. But he could not make any advancement; so it fell upon me to correct his mistakes, whether in speech or composition; and whatever he wished to translate, he gave the meaning, and I composed the same, in Malay.

"One day Mr. Thomsen said to me, 'Make a collection of words in Malay and I will furnish the English ones, in order that we may make a Malay and English book.' I replied, 'Very good.' So I set about seeking and arranging the various heads, such as sky, earth, month, sun, and so forth. In a month's time I had collected about two thousand words, each in its division, which I showed to him, and with which he was delighted, saying, 'This is just what I want. I will give the English.' Now my personal reason for taking all the trouble about this affair was that I wanted to learn English; and the book he called, in the English language, 'Vocabulary.' It was in manuscript, as it could not be printed; for neither type nor printing materials had yet arrived at Malacca.

"A short time after Mr. Milne had removed to his new house, Dr. Morrison* came to Malacca to stay with Mr. Milne, and Dr. Morrison employed himself night and day without ceasing in learning Chinese and writing it. He wrote with a Chinese pen (*i.e.*, hair pencil). And it is my opinion that at that time there was not a single European who was so learned in Chinese literature as Dr. Morrison. Mr. Milne got lessons from him. His only fault was that he wore the English costume; for, had he put on the Chinese dress, no one would have taken him to be a white man. My reason for saying this is, that his manner, voice, furniture, and

* The famous Chinese scholar.

instruments, were all Chinese. Astonished was I at the ways of mankind. What they accustom themselves to, they obtain; and for this reason intelligent men accustom themselves to good works, so that they may be fixed firmly therein from all time. There was one quality in Dr. Morrison—that was that he had the mien of a gentleman; he obtained great influence over our affections, and his conversation was soft and gentle. He gave good counsel. I was then in the midst of learning the Gospel of St. Matthew, and when I met with difficulties he would explain such parts as I did not understand.

"A short while after this other missionaries arrived, one by name Mr. Slater; another afterwards came, by name Mr. Angus; the latter was a young man, good, handsome, and clever, and he brought with him a kind of machine constructed by ingenious men in Europe. The machine was a beautiful one. It had a glass disc or round plate, into which he put medicine, and then turned it rapidly. And while it revolved, if we put our fingers to it, it drew sparks out of them. Once he gave us two chains of brass near the disc, and he ordered myself and the Chinese instructor, Lee Sin Siang, to take hold of the chains; for we did not know what were his intentions, my own impression being that he only wanted our help. Then in a moment I felt as if the soul had gone out of me. I sat down with an extraordinary sensation in all my joints and limbs. I thought I had died. If I had had the

slightest notion that I was to be the subject of such a trick I would not have held the chain for one hundred dollars. And as to the Chinese instructor—don't mention him. He was struck dumb, and his face became as pale as a corpse. Messrs. Milne and Angus laughed heartily on seeing our condition, and told us not to be afraid, for it was a kind of medicine, being called (in Malay) *quasah pisawat*, or, in English, electricity.

"Moreover, Mr. Angus brought a small white-coloured, gravel-like large sand, and he put it into the fire and made it very hot, by blowing, till it melted to the thickness of rice gruel. He then poured it out as he wished, when it became glass. His department was to teach English reading, elocution, and writing; so I went daily to take lessons from him.

"Furthermore, in a short time came Mr. Maddas (Medhurst?), bringing with him his wife and step-child, whose name was George. His wife was not a European, but either a Bengal or Madras Eurasian. This was apparent, because she could speak Tamul well. And, to my apprehension, if I mistake not, the wife was older than her husband. Now, the disposition of Mr. Maddas was to be very earnest at study, and he was head compositor, and such like. On his first arrival at Malacca, Mr. Milne ordered me to teach him the language and read it. It was not very long before he could read and speak a little. He studied the language

for some time; but afterwards he commenced Chinese. I saw that he had a bright understanding and a good headpiece, so that whatever he put himself to, he soon mastered. After this came Beaton* to Malacca, and I taught him also for some time; but he sailed for Pulo Pinang. Also in this month came the type, tools, and printing press, a compositor, by name Mr. Hetman, and several Bengalese, to work the machine. The person that worked the types was named Omar, besides whom there was a young man called Aur, who had charge of the Malay type. Now this was the first time in my life that I had ever seen their type, tools, and such like; and when I saw them I was greatly astonished to view these contrivances of mankind, whose ingenuity had invented such accurate work, and I asked myself who made these ingenious contrivances, and for what purpose?

"Moreover, when the box of type arrived, Mr. Milne ordered me to take out the various type and arrange them, and he also directed me to make patterns of the letters on paper for the Chinese artizan. At the outset, Mr. Maddas taught me the manner of setting the type, and how to hold the brass type-holder; also how to place them in the frame ready for printing, arranged so that everything would appear correct when printed.

* Missionary Beaton for nearly thirty years laboured amongst the Malays at Penang, and died there. He met with little recompense for a life's pursuit.

In about two or three months' time I had mastered this occupation so as to be able to do without assistance, and the longer I remained at this employment, the better I came to understand the secrets of the trade, including those of printing, setting, and inking.

"To proceed:—The first thing that was done was in Mr. Milne printing the Commandments received by the prophet of God (Moses) on the hill of Tor Sinai. I set all the type for this. The next work was the printing of the Malay and English vocabulary of 2,000 words, which I had formerly written. After this Mr. Thomsen suggested that we should try and translate an English arithmetical work into the Malay language, for the use of children in schools. To this I assented, as there were no arithmetical works in the Malay language. I then commenced daily to translate arithmetic into Malay; thus my daily duties were diversified by translating into Malay and preparing the same for the press, and in this manner that book was completed. But, when the book was going through the press, there were not enough of ciphers, as we had to use an immense number of English ciphers in the book. So Mr. Thomsen taught me the mode of making types or ciphers, and what else was required. We made them to our satisfaction, of antimony; we then tempered them. We then struck the metal into brass, and thus making our moulds, we cast as many

as we wanted. We then cut the bottom of the type with tools, so that it might become level, not irregular in height. Now as to the metal with which the type was made, that is, *tima sari*; it was mixed with certain chemicals to make it clear. All this, by God's goodness to me, I was competent to do without assistance. And as to the letters and ciphers that were wanting, I made them up. After this many books were printed—books of words for washermen,* for shoemakers, and such like. There was another book called *Sheitan Harapan* (the devil's trust), besides many useful books for children in school; also stories from the English translated into Malay. But I will not detail all, as this would lengthen my narrative. Now, at that period I was very busy teaching these gentlemen, and in making and setting type; so I suggested that if there were another person whom I could teach to set type I should be very glad, as I had no time for the occupation. So Mr. Thomsen suggested that I should teach the Portuguese boy called Michael. This I did with much personal trouble, he being unacquainted with letters, so it was long before he could understand even a little, and he made but slow progress in the art of setting type, owing to his inaptitude.

"As things progressed, Mr. Milne commenced to build the college as it now stands. He had great

* The men wash clothes in India.

difficulty in building it, owing to the area being full of cocoa-nut trees, of which he felled several hundreds. The artisans were few in number, and the wood and materials were enormous. Now when all the materials were ready, on a certain day at 6 A.M., Mr. Milne invited all the gentry of Malacca, in number about forty or fifty, and these having assembled, each put a dollar below the threshold of the door. There might have been seventy or eighty dollars. And they all stood round the door when Mr. Milne struck it, and called out the name of the house as the 'Anglo-Chinese College,' by which name it has since been called. This done, all returned to their homes. The house was about one year in building, and when it was finished, he removed to it from the old house. As to the old house, he levelled it to the ground for a lawn. Now at this time numerous children of the Chinese, Portuguese, and Malays were taught at the college, of whom four, five, or even ten, became clever at reading and writing the English language. At this time, also, many people began to know how to speak English; besides, all the descendants of the Dutch in Malacca changed their habits, language, and costume — male and female. All imitated the English. And many were the times that the gentry asked me to call the Malay children to learn to read and write, either in Malay or English; but they would not come, for in their stupidity they feared that they would be taken

by force and be made English of.* So they would not come, as the impression had got hold of their minds that force would be used to convert them. I urged them to come numberless times, besides I explained to them that the English had not the remotest intention of converting them if they themselves were not agreeable; but that the object was no other than to teach them their own language, or the language of the English, as those acquisitions in after-life would greatly facilitate their earning a livelihood. I argued:—to learn accounts, would that be of no use? for if they did not learn accounts, how could they trade, buy, or sell?† Moreover, I counselled them in many ways, but they slighted my advice. The more I harangued them, the more they avoided me; for in their thoughts they said I wished to destroy them. This feeling arrived at such a pitch that they conceived in their hearts a spite against me. So I was silent. They went and warned my father, requesting him to forbid me to learn the English language lest I should fall into English customs, and despise my own religion. On this, my father forbade me, saying, 'I do not like your going to learn the English language and writing; for not a single Mahomedan learns these, and many people

* That is, proselytized.

† Abdulla, being a Mahomedan, sought to get all the temporal good he could out of the missionaries, not caring to lose his or his own countrymen's faith.

say there is something bad in it, and that it tends to hurt our religion.' Now when I heard the words of my father, I considered awhile, and asked myself from what clique does this foolish talk come to my father? Thus long has he advised me to perfect myself, and now he is angry that I have become so. Then I asked, 'Why does my father forbid me to learn these things?' And he replied 'Because many men tell me that harm will come to you by your following English customs; *for they are a race skilled in gaining influence over the mind of mankind.* I am afraid that harm will come to you by your following their teachings.' Then I replied, 'Is it not right to follow good customs, and to cast aside evil habits; and if from a simpleton I become learned, would that hurt my good name? You, oh my father, have listened to the warnings of fools; they have a spite against me, because I told their children to learn rather than to sit in idleness, and nothingness. Would it not be better for them to learn?' Then said my father, 'You are now clever with your tongue. I am not able to wrangle with you. When you were little, I could correct you; now you are big, I am afraid of you.' To this I replied, 'Let me not be lifted up thus. Even if I were a prince, if I be wrong, I shall be amenable to my father's pleasure.' When my father heard this, he went into his room to seek a rattan-cane to flog me. When I saw that he was in a passion, I ran and fell at his feet; for it was the nature of

my father, that however great his rage, if we fell at his feet his rage left him. Then said he, 'You must not go to learn to speak and write English: I will put you with my brother, the cloth-merchant, to learn his trade.' Then I replied, 'That is well; but let me learn only a little more.' So I went to learn.* Now regarding the warnings given to my father, I related the same to Messrs. Milne and Thomsen. Then these gentlemen said, 'Don't be afraid, we will go and see your father this evening.' So in the evening they went and called on my father, and they begged him not to be afraid about his son Abdulla, as they would be careful of him till he had mastered both the English and Malay languages. They added, it were well that he learned yet a little more, as he was the only person in Malacca who had a mind to learn, and to qualify himself to be an instructor in Malay, and that my father would, in after-years, come to see the great advantage of such an accomplishment. So from that day my father began to think that it was better not to be angry because I was learning the above.

"Now as to the people who had warned my father, they gave up scheming, because their desires were not complied with; furthermore, they lived uselessly in idleness; but God gave me my living, for from month to month I obtained money and learning to boot. This inflamed their spite. And,

* The father's authority is slight in the tropics.

because of my teaching, and being taught by the missionaries, these folks nick-named me Abdulla Padre* (Abdulla the priest). I was otherwise much calumniated by them for imparting our language to the white man; and I ascribed their rage and spleen to their foolishness and my own shrewdness; for could a simpleton be a teacher to the white man? No, the teacher must be competent. This was the reason of their spite and venom. But all their tricks I despised. As the Malay proverb goes—'If a dog bark at a hill, will it fall? or if a tree have many roots, why should it fear a squall?'

"Furthermore, I remained at these duties six or seven years, and, under those gentlemen, I translated many small books into Malay. I also corrected many of these gentlemen's compositions; but I had constant grumblings from them, saying, 'It would be well for you to get married, and not any longer to remain a bachelor.' They added, that it was not respectable, and that my father was old. He had told them that he wished me to marry on several occasions, but that I would not consent. To this I replied, 'How can I marry, seeing that I have no means, and that my house is dilapidated? How can I marry?' Then said the gentlemen, 'Be not afraid, we will furnish the wedding costs, and the house we will put in repair for the marriage.' On this they called my father, and when he had come,

* Padre means in the East, Christian priest, an opprobrious term amongst Mahomedans.

Mr. Milne said to him, 'Do make arrangements to get Abdulla married.' He replied, 'I thank you, for I have night and day no other thought than this one yearning in my bowels. He is my only child; I am old, and am very desirous to see him married. I have often advised him, but he would not consent.' Then said the gentlemen, 'We have spoken to him, and he now wishes this affair to be accomplished quickly.' After my father had gone away, the matter was arranged in the course of four or five days; for I was already betrothed. And when things were all settled, my father came and told the gentlemen so. They went and inspected my house, and ordered artisans to repair it, sending what furniture was necessary from their own houses. And they gave fifty dollars by way of marriage expenses, saying, if that were not enough, that they would give more. So on the wedding day fifteen white gentlemen came with their wives, at the invitation of Mr. Milne, to dine at my house. And all the table furniture, tables, chairs, and attendants were brought from Mr. Milne's house, the eatables only being furnished by myself. So they dined in the upper rooms, where were various kinds of dishes spread upon the table. Such as four pairs of fowls, four roasted ducks, one sheep cut into large pieces in the Kling fashion; also there was chicken-soup, with vegetables, including cabbage and cucumbers. Besides these there were numerous kinds of sambals (condiments) and fruits, also rice and gravies of

twenty descriptions, and sweetmeats of a thousand kinds. The upper room was garnished with various kinds of decorations, and the ceiling was ornamented with flowers and strips of cloth of various devices. So they all sat down to eat. And at that time many people increased their hatred at seeing me mix with white men in my own house;* but I did not heed them: as the Malays say, 'He that digs a hole is the one to fall into it.'

"So the company grew merry and laughed. And each gentleman brought his wife and children, and I sat with them. And when dinner was over, each complimented me, and desired to see my wife. So Mr. Milne took them all to the house of my wife, where each shook hands with her. Now this was the first time that my wife had seen English people, and from thence she was no longer afraid of them, nor startled like other women, who, when they see the English, run helter-skelter as if they had lost their senses.† But these gentlemen, being my particular friends, were respectable folks, knowing manners, and proper respect. Now after I had been married four or five days, Mr. Milne came to my house to see my wife, and our feelings towards him were as to our own fathers. If I were in fault, my wife complained of me, and I did likewise when

* In after-years Abdulla was jealous of Europeans going near his house.

† This fear of the English proceeds from various causes. Prostrate morality of the natives, native rumours against Europeans, and rude manners of English sailors, and others.

she was in fault, and that gentleman instructed us in all our ways. Thus it came about that, as man and wife, we held great affection towards each other till our first child was born. Now it was feared that my wife would have died in her heavy labour, so Mr. Milne called Dr. Chalmers to come and give her medicine, and to watch till she had been safely delivered.

"Mr. Milne was gentle, mindful, and helpful to to me, with great kindness. These benefits I can never repay to him. It is God alone who will give him seven-fold blessings. I shall never forget him as long as I live. It was now only that I was over head ande ars in debt: as the Malay proverb goes—'The debt of gold can be repaid, but the debt of gratitude we carry to our graves.'

"To proceed:—I had sixteen or seventeen days' liberty from Mr. Milne not to work, excepting at the type. These he ordered me to set about immediately, to see what things were not correct. These I corrected. After this he told me to return to work as usual. For reasons such as these, this good man was called good. While Mr. Milne was the head of the college, Mr. Thomsen had no power, and could do nothing without Mr. Milne's consent. Such were the arrangements. Now Mr. Milne begat a son whom he got Colonel Farquhar to name Farquhar, and a little while afterwards a change in this world fell upon him,—his wife died, and they buried her in the fort.

To look at Mr. Milne, after his wife's death, was to see him always buried in grief. He tired of study. And after a little while he also fell sick of a dry cough, of which he got worse and worse. This being observed, the doctors ordered him to go to the sea to drink salt water, which he did. So he daily went to the sea and he drank his fill, till he sometimes vomited. But it was not many days before he also died. And whilst he was about to die, he directed—nay, ordered—that his liver should be examined. This was cut open by Dr. Chalmers,* and found to be full of holes like honeycomb, and also there were two or three stones found in it as large as peas. As for myself, I remained by Mr. Thomsen, who, in a short time, desired to return to Europe to take home his wife, when I was left in charge of the printing.

"Now, after sixteen or seventeen months' time Mr. Thomsen returned to Malacca, saying that his wife had died at sea when only three or four days' sail from England. And he brought along with him a great number of tools, such as files and scrapers, &c., with tools for making type. The possession of these tools gave me greater zest for my occupation.

"Again I perceived in the disposition of Mr. Thomsen, that when he was about translating English into Malay that he returned to his old habits. I tried to control him in this and that, telling him

* Of Croydon, near London.

that such a way was not proper, seeing that it was in the English idiom, which was quite ridiculous when applied to Malay composition. Sometimes he would acquiesce, at other times he would say that the Malays were wrong, adding—'I am right, and I will not follow the Malay idiom, as it is difficult for people to understand it; besides, after the Malays have come to be acquainted with my mode, they will follow it.* Also in after-times, when white men wish to learn Malay, it will make it easy to them.' I replied, 'Very good; as you please; but if you do so in future times men will dishonour my name, saying, "What do we care about a fool like him?"' A few days after this Mr. Thomsen said to me, 'I wish to translate the Gospel of St. Matthew into correct Malay, the existing translation by the Dutch being in bad Malay; let us commence to translate, altering what may not be in correct language.' I replied, 'If you wish to upset phrases, you must let me understand them well, and then I can give you the proper words in Malay: don't push me, but have patience with me; and you must further agree not to question what I may say is proper.' He replied, 'Very good.'

* Translating this sentence according to the Malay idiom, what jargon it makes in English! So it may be readily supposed that Malay in the English idiom was equally preposterous:—

Dan lagi kalau suda orang lama lama biasa dalam
And more if done men betimes acquainted in
perkataan bagini nanti orang Malayu pun turut
sayings so wait men Malay also follow.

"So I commenced to translate that book; but I felt myself so much limited, for he would not allow me to modify the phrases by displacing the words in the Malay Bible which was translated by the Dutch missionaries, as the book he said must not be changed in any way from the original. To this I replied, that I had no intention to alter the meaning, but only the idiom; 'If I cannot change this part, what is the use of correcting it at all?' He replied, 'Other books we may change, but this one we cannot change; it would be the deepest of sins to do so.' I was astonished at hearing his words.* The true sense remained, only the false idiom I wished to change to the usage or syntax approved of by my countrymen. If we used phrases that my countrymen could not understand, of what good could our translation be to them? Now when we were about the translation of the 1st chapter and 2nd verse of St. Matthew, he would render it in Malay thus:—*maka Ibrahim peranaklah Iaasic, dan Iaasic peranaklah Iakub, dan Iakub peranaklah Ihuda dan segala Ludura nia.* (Abraham begat Isaac, and Isaac begat Jacob, and Jacob begat Judas and his brethren.) To this I objected as not being according to the usage or syntax of our language, i. e., *Ibrahim peranaklah Iaasic.* He replied, 'What then is in use?' I replied, '*Ibrahim pun beranaklah*

* I can fancy the troubles of a German and a Malay who could not speak English in their attempt to translate the English Bible. No wonder that they quarrelled over it.

Iaasic, dan Iaasic beranaklah Jakub; or thus *deperanakanlah ulih Ibrahim akan Iaasic.*' This is the proper Malay idiom; *peranaklah Iaasic* is not Malay; furthermore, it has no meaning. To this he replied, 'If so, Abraham was a woman, then.' I replied, 'All men in this world know that in using *beranak* (begat), none but a woman, the wife of Abraham, was meant.' 'Then,' said he, 'I will not acquiesce in this; it will be changing from the English idiom.'* As to the meaning of *peranaklah*, we wrangled for an hour, and he would still have his own way. So I said, 'Very well. It is your book, and it is your pleasure, so write it.' At this he burst into a rage, crying out. 'What is the meaning of *peranak?*' So I replied, 'I know the meaning of *peranak*, the same as *beranak*. So has *deperboat* the same meaning as *memboat*. It is the same as *beranak*. Is it not better for me to use *beranak*, for all my countrymen know the meaning of this expression?' Then said he, 'In truth I will *not* follow the Malay idiom.' Then I said, 'Try and see in the dictionary the meanings of *peranaklah* and *beranak*.' He replied, 'All the books are wrong; they follow the Malay idiom, which I despise.' So I was silent; but I said in my heart, fifteen men such as you will never compose a book in this way. I then did as he ordered. I

* Had German pupils insisted upon an English teacher adopting *un*possible instead of *im*possible, he would have been as unreasonable as Missionary Thomsen.

continued correcting till we came to the 19th verse, which was*—*Yusof tunangan Mariam itu orangadil dan tiada iya mau membri malu akan dya maka iya ingat mau memboang kan dya diem diem.* (Then Joseph her husband, being a just man, and not willing to make her a public example, was minded to put her away privily.) To this I said the Malays use *adil* in the *law* only, or when speaking of their *princes*—adil (just) the opposite of *thalim* (tyrannical). Then said he, 'Which is the better way?' So I said thus: '*Adapun Yusof tunangan Mariam itu, orang iang benar adania maka tiadalah iya mau membri malu akan dya, maka iya handak memboangkan dya diem.*' Then said he, 'In the original is *adil.* I cannot change it; it would create another sense.' Thus I felt hampered in not being allowed to displace phrases obnoxious to the Malay idiom. But, under such circumstances, even though he were angry, I could not be satisfied; for I considered that in after-times, when competent men examined the book, they would ask who was the moonshee or instructor in translating? and my name would be brought on the carpet. This was my position—a constant state of wrangling. Where then was there opportunity to correct the book? Further, in the 2nd chapter and 18th verse, the translation goes on thus:—*Suda dingar satu suara de Rama iya itu ranak dan tangis dan duka chita iang amat baniak krana Rachil menangis sebab anak nia*

* In the Malay translation by the Dutch missionaries.

dan tiadalah iya mau de hiborkan sebab tiada ada nia. (In Rama there was a voice heard, lamentation and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted because they are not.) Now this verse I do not understand.* The phrases—what is their meaning, and from whence do they come? Then said he, 'What is the use of understanding the phrases? They are from the book of the prophets—let them be—never mind.' Again, in the 3rd chapter, 1st verse, it is thus:—*datanglah Jahaiah permandai.* (Came John the Baptist.) Then said I, '*Permandai* is not sufficiently explanatory in this place—what is its derivation?' To which he replied, 'In the English it is Baptist.' Then said I, 'Let us use that language and adopt it into the Malay, for the above phrase has no force in the Malay language.' So he agreed, and we used *Jahaiah baptista.* Again, in the 5th chapter and 47th verse it is thus:—*bukankah orang penchukei ada berboat demikian.* (Do not even the publicans so?) He wished to adopt the above; but I did not like the sentence, because the idiom is not Malay. But, owing to his harshness and wilfulness, it was retained. Now, the approved expression is *orang chukei*, or *orang memigang chukei.* Further, in the 6th chapter and 26th verse it is thus:—*lihatlah segala burong debawah langit.* (Behold the fowls of the air.) To this I said, 'Do not put *debawah langit;* people will think it does not relate to birds

* Nor anybody else; it is a jargon of Malay words, quite senseless.

in this world, but those close under the sky (above the stars); it is better to use *iang de udara* (of the air);' but he would not have it, saying, 'In the original it is not so.'

"To proceed:—I will not dilate on my disputes with Mr. Thomsen in the correction of the Malay copy of St. Matthew (by the Dutch missionaries). He had not yet understood the genius of the language. It thus slowly progressed to completion. At times our disputes were of daily occurrence; he would not look at me, nor I at him, for two days together. And when he saw that I kept away, he came to my house to call me, and all this for no other cause than about phrases which sounded absurd in Malay, which he would stick to so peremptorily, thus creating disputes between him and me. But, let it be known to all gentlemen who read my autobiography, that where there are wrong expressions in the St. Matthew of Mr. Thomsen's translation, or absurd Malay phrases, they must consider well the constraint that was put upon me, wherein I could neither add nor subtract a single word of the book without the concurrence of Mr. Thomsen. And I am sensible that in that book there are numerous parts with strange sounds by reason of words misplaced; but what could I do to help it, especially as I could not know the phrases of the originals in the Greek language? Had it been confined to the English language, I am here some-

what acquainted.* Now, because of all the circumstances mentioned here, let not any gentleman slander or rail at my character; for I was merely Mr. Thomsen's moonshee (or instructor); though, in truth, I do not set myself up as being very clever, or faultless; for our very existence is pregnant with wrong. I acknowledge I am not destitute of faults. But truly, by God's grace, I am able to distinguish between right and wrong in all that relates to the idiom of the Malay language; for I have made it my study. I did not attain it by hearing it by the way, nor in the bustle of the crowd.

"To proceed:—After we had done translating St. Matthew, in a few days Mr. Thomsen said, 'Let us correct the Acts of the Apostles (Malay copy by the Dutch),' to which I said, 'Very good; but I feel that in the Gospel of St. Matthew there are scores of verses that are translated contrary to my will, and of this I have a full recollection. In those I acquiesced to your own pleasure. Now you are going to begin again, how is it to be? I know not.' Then said he, 'Where a phrase is difficult, its being wrong is of little consequence. Who would mind such a thing? The Acts of the Apostles are more like a mere history, so you will correct them easily enough. Then I replied, 'Don't call them easy, sir.

* He spoke broken English, but could not write, nor had Abdulla a critical knowledge of English.

I have read them and cannot understand a single sentence, because of the Malay translation not being composed in the Malay idiom.' Then said he, 'Let us try, for I would like to correct them.' But it was the same as before, so I will not relate the whole circumstances, as it will protract my narrative. I tried all I could to hold him to the Malay idiom, so that the translation might be merely intelligible; but I could not succeed. Notwithstanding these difficulties I did manage to partially introduce the true idiom, though I had much else to attend to. But the corrections were made after much wrangling; for Mr. Thomsen's custom was to steer by an English compass while translating into Malay. Indeed he may be said to have condemned our language; for, at a glance, one could see that his Malay compositions were in an English idiom. They partook of nothing that belonged to the Malay language further than the separate words. They had not even the appearance of Malay literature.

"To proceed:—Now as to the Gospel of St. Matthew and the Acts of the Apostles, they were first printed at Malacca; and in regard to the composition of the manuscript, the spelling, the grammar, and such like, all these were written down with my own hand. After the first edition (I do not know how many others have been printed at Singapore and Malacca) when I look at the books even now, I must say that, from beginning to end, there are not to be found ten phrases which are not wrong.

They are full of errors, whether in the syntax or in the prefixes and affixes. That which has no proper existence he has created—that which has existence he has ignored. For the generality of moonshees (native teachers) that have not been trained set themselves up as great scholars in Malacca—all they want being wages; so they have neither skill nor knowledge as to the proper letters (to wit), which words to spell with the *alif* and which words to spell without *alif*. And as to the *eia* and *wow*, if they stuck them in anywhere, they were satisfied. They knew not the origin of the phrases, from whence derived, and whether or not the original was spelt with *alif*. They knew nothing also as to spelling. They put one here and another there, some adding and some subtracting according to their sole pleasure. Now if things are to go on in this way, in twenty years' time the Malay literature will be a dead one, in so far as relates to its grammar, spelling, construction and style of composition. And as time runs on, one person will write so that another will not be able to read, owing to each altering as he pleases. Some SUBTRACT, while others who are not apt at reading Malay, ADD *alifs*, *eias*, and *wows*, for their own ready reading. Now, to my ideas, such people think that they have created a sky, moon, and sun. And all this comes of white men being insufficiently taught, and of my countrymen carelessly teaching. They think they can make an ass into a horse by means of bathing,

rubbing, and lathering. An easy way to make a horse, this! But they do not consider that if his origin be a horse, he will remain a horse, and if his origin be an ass, he will remain an ass. Now this is the end of a meagrely-paid teacher of reading and writing, the ass can easily become a horse, but to my understanding they wish not to instruct in the Malay language—they only wish to make a mess of it. Further, the drift of the intentions of such fools is that they think to have the honour of men copying their compositions, in order that they may be lionized as great authors. Little do they think that the really learned may come to examine their works; for assuredly when this happens they will be set down as ignoramuses and coxcombs.*

"To proceed:—Would you (oh reader!) not be ashamed were the learned to see the book of the Gospels in such a style of grammar and spelling as is never used by my countrymen? What will men in after-times think of them? These books are believed in by the followers of the Messiah, who honour them. Will not these books be referred to as an authority for phraseology and spelling, also

* Notwithstanding Abdulla's great love for Malay writings in the Arabic or mixed (Jawi) character, it must be held to be incomplete. It is more of the nature of short-hand, so the sounds of words are left doubtful. The character has been used for probably 400 or 500 years, and must have supplanted one of the Hindoo alphabets. The Roman alphabet is infinitely superior, and ought to be used by missionaries and others whose pursuits lead them to write or compose in the Malay language. The Malays have very generally adopted the Roman numerals.

as a place from whence to extract or borrow appropriate expressions? But if you compose in the above manner, you destroy the Bible, and lower it in the eyes of people.* For all persons would surmise that the translators were mere ignorant people, or disputers who had no learning. But it is not the grammar and spelling alone; for there are many misconstructions of the real sense, as different as the earth is from the sky. As far as the originals are concerned, it may or it may not be as I state, for I am not learned in the originals (meaning the Greek and Latin texts); but still I feel that they are wrong in the meanings they convey.

"Furthermore try yourself (oh reader!) and compare the Malay Gospels by Thomsen, which were printed at Singapore, and you will see, in page 201, verse 28, that they read as follows:—*Maka tatkala Simon mengangkat anak Isa itu pada tangan nia lalu memuji allah.* Now there is a great mistake here by following the English idiom. Each Malay word is set in the English Bible order, thus ignoring the Malay idiom. Those who know the intention of the English text would translate it into Malay in the following manner:—*Maka angkut ulih*

* It is a pity that so much time had been wasted; the harm done to the work must have been incalculable. It is scarcely possible for a European to grasp the subtilties of a foreign language, so he must bow to the learned natives in all things that relate to idiom. I question if any of the missionaries were acquainted with general Malay literature, their histories, poetry, and tales. Without a critical and familiar knowledge of these, it would be absurd to attempt independent composition.

Simon akan kanak kanak iga itu Isa. This is my view, for I have never heard in the Mahomedan religion, and especially in the religion of the Messiah, that Jesus had been married—if not, how came he to have children? (according to Thomsen's Malay translation.)* Now the above I have extracted from the Gospel of St. Luke. Who was the native teacher that taught thus? Or who was his disputer? And if it be found that the English composer had overuled his native teacher, it would be under the impression, that there was no necessity to watch the meanings well—that all that could be attempted was to transcribe phrases, nothing more, it being a mortal sin to change a single phrase in the word of God on any account whatever. All this is done as a hood-wink to ignorant gentlemen, who provide the means to translate the Gospels into Malay, and so the work executed is quite contrary to the object sought to be attained by their task.

"Now of a truth, the above is not the only example; there are hundreds which I have detected. Have patience; oh reader, a little, and I will point some of them out, for the information of you gentlemen who peruse my autobiography. Turn to

* To Malay scholars Abdulla's reasoning will be quite apparent; for those who are not, I will explain that *anak Isa*, in Malay, means the children of Jesus. The *child Jesus*, in Malay, can only be translated into Malay by the compound expression given by Abdulla. Malays would be misled in an important matter by Thomsen's adherence to an English idiom in a Malay translation.

page 120. *Maka heiran segala orang terchanjang serta bertaniak sorang kapada sorang Kata nia apa Karangan halnia pengajaran bharu mana itu Krana dingan Kwasa nia iya meniuroh deri pada hantu iang nijis lagi, dan marika-itu menurat titah-nia.* Now the meaning of this is, that the unclean spirits, after having done certain work, were ordered by Jesus to do something else, and that they executed his orders accordingly.* Again, turn to page 138, verse 4. *Maka berkatalah Isa pada marika-itu bhawa sorang nabi tiada korong hormat maleinkan dalam negri-nia dan autara kaluar-ka-nia dan dalam ruma-nia.* The meaning of which is that all prophets obtain great honour in their own country, and during the time that they are out of it and in their own houses.† Again in page 303, verse 70. *Maka berkatalah angkau samoa adakah angkau ini anak allah—maka berkatalah—iya—pada marika—itu, bhawa Kamu Katakan aku ini adadya.* The meaning of which is, are you keeping the son of God, then said Jesus he is present who asks this of him, (see Matt. ch. 26, vv. 63 and 64.) Again page 330, verse 38. *Aku suda meniuroh Kamu menoi barang iang Kamu tiada mengrejakan maka orang lain suda berkreja dan Kamu suda masoh perkrejaan-nia.* The meaning of

* Luke iv. 36. Christ only ordered the unclean spirits *to come out.*

† Matt. xiii. 57. *Nabi tiada korang hormat* means, The prophets have a large measure of honour in their own country, which is contrary to the English text.

which is, 'other people who worked, then the same people entered along with them.' Is this the true meaning? Now the real meaning is this, as intended by the Gospel:—'Whereas I ordered you to pray for things unceasingly which other people also pray for, but you have got them ready prepared for you with the fruit thereof.' Further, in page 342, verse 45:—*Suda tersurta ulih nabi nabi bhawa samoa akan pelajari ulih allah.* The meaning of this phrase is this:—'All have taught God. Who was God's instructor?' Again, page 344, verse 67:—*Maka sebab itu berkatalah Isa Kapada dua blas orang itu adahka angkau lagi handak purgi.* The meaning of which is:—'All having gone before, so Jesus asked them if they wanted to go further and further.' Again, page 351, verse 9:—'*Maka Kaluarlah marika itu Sorony dami Sorong mulai deripada iang tuah datung Kapada iang ahir.* The meaning of which is:—'If those should live who came out, thought he.' Again, verses 60 and 55, as they are arranged to the end; again, 59 and 17 in the middle of the verse—*itu apa Kata mu akan dya sedang iya membuka mata mu, maka Kata iya nabi.* The meaning of which is:—'At the time he opened my eyes, what did you say to him? and he said you are a prophet.' Again, page 365, in the last verse—*itu Kata isa pada marika-itu bukau-kah ada tersurat dalam turut mu aku suda berkata Kamu adalah.* The meaning of this is:—'You are from the wars, or from the gaming-table, or such places;' but I know the

intention of the phrase not to be this, for Thomsen did not understand English.*

"It was his custom when writing English to spell God with a small 'g,' now that is the same as if God were an idol or a demi-god. But if spelt with a large 'G,' that means the true God. And this system Thomsen wished to carry on with the Malay language. Acting on this principle, he took one *l* (lam in Malay) out of Allah, which became alah, a word of a different sense altogether, as it signifies to *vanquish* one's enemy. But I will now stop from my account of Mr. Thomsen, for I was a thousand times the greater simpleton for disputing with him, and I will return to my own story while engaged in the duties of my employers—such as in teaching Mr. Thomsen, and in working at what he set me to."

The above dry details of the study class-room and printing-office, with their controversies and disputations, deprive missionary labour of its romance, but not a whit of its high aspirations—its profound faith—its expansive charity. Noble and enduring feelings must indeed support the patient Christian in his arduous and ill-requited task. First efforts

* There must have been careless copying in the Malay manuscript in my possession, as I have had great difficulty in making any sense out of much of the above. And as Abdulla has given us the pages of Thomsen's book instead of the chapters of the Testament, the exact quotations can only be guessed at.

are generally faulty, and there can be no doubt that this has been the case with the first translations of the Bible into the languages of the Far East. Indeed a great deal is mere jargon—a fact much to be regretted. The superhuman task of the Protestant missionary being to plant his creed on the intelligent sympathies of remote races, his progress to this end must necessarily be slow and by degrees. The work is best commenced by teaching the young; and, may I ask, what is a single generation to the long span of a nation's life—the epoch of its birth, progress, and decline? It is nothing.

I have often been struck with a passage in the fascinating romance of *Jane Eyre*. St. John says, "A year ago I was myself intensely miserable because I thought I had made a mistake in entering the ministry; its uniform duties wearied me to death. I burnt for the more active life of the world—for the more exciting toils of a literary career—for the destiny of an artist, author, orator; anything rather than that of a priest; yes, the heart of a politician, of a soldier, of a votary of glory, a lover of renown, a luster after power, beat under my curate's surplice. I considered; my life was so wretched, it must be changed, or I must die. After a season of darkness and struggling, light broke, and relief fell: my cramped existence all at once spread out to a plain without bounds; my powers heard a call from heaven to rise, gather their full strength, spread their wings, and mount

beyond ken. God had an errand for me; to bear which afar, to deliver it well, skill and strength, courage and eloquence—the best qualifications of soldier, statesman and orator, were all needed; for these all centre in the good missionary.

"A missionary I resolved to be. From that moment my state of mind was changed; the fetters dissolved and dropped from every faculty, leaving nothing of bondage but its galling soreness, which time only can heal. My father indeed opposed the determination; but since his death, I have not a legitimate obstacle to contend with; some affairs settled—a successor for Morton provided—an entanglement or two of the feelings broken through, or cut asunder—a last conflict with human weakness, in which I know I shall overcome, because I have vowed *I will* overcome—and I leave Europe for the East."

The above is the romance of missions, the apostle has not yet got entangled in the drudgery of his labour. And how did imagination portray his labour and its results? We turn to the end of the volume and see.

"As to St. John Rivers, he left England: he went to India. He entered on the path he had marked for himself; he pursues it still. A more resolute, indefatigable pioneer never wrought amidst rocks and dangers. Firm, faithful, and devoted—full of energy, and zeal, and truth—he labours for his race; he clears their painful way to improvement;

he hews down like a giant the prejudices of creed and caste that encumber it. He may be stern, he may be exacting, he may be ambitious yet, but his is the sternness of the warrior Greatheart, who guards his pilgrim convoy from the onslaught of Apollyon. His is the exaction of the apostle who speaks but for Christ, when he says—'whosoever will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me.' His is the ambition of the high master spirit which aims to fill a place in the first rank of those who are redeemed from the earth, who stand without fault before the throne of God; who share the last mighty victories of the Lamb, who are called, and chosen, and faithful.

"St. John is unmarried; he never will marry now. Himself has hitherto sufficed to the toil, and the toil draws near to its close; his glorious sun hastens to its setting. The last letter I received from him drew from my eyes human tears, and yet filled my heart with divine joy; he anticipated his sure reward—his incorruptible crown! I know that a stranger's hand will write to me next to say that the 'good and faithful servant' has been called, at length, unto 'the joy of the Lord.' And why weep for this? No fear of death will darken St. John's last hour; his mind will be unclouded, his heart will be undaunted; his hope will be sure; his faith steadfast. His own words are a pledge of this.

"My master," he says, "has forewarned me. Daily he announces more distinctly, 'Surely I come

quickly!' and hourly I more eagerly respond—'Amen! Even so come, Lord Jesus.'"

Fiction is often too true to nature, where hope is blasted, labour unrequited, devotion unavailing, the task heartless, the life's aspirations of no apparent effect. This has been too much the hapless fate of Christian missionaries in the Far East.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CIVIL SERVICE.

THIRTY years ago the East India Company's Civil Service was rapturously named "the finest service in the world." To live in it for twenty-one years, and to do nothing, either good or bad, but merely to beware of committing oneself, was all that was necessary for the attainment of fortune, pension, and honour. The service was at that time the utopia of the children of British papas and mammas. Fortune, pension, and honour were the delicacies ready prepared for the fortunate youth designed for the Honourable East India Company's Civil Service. Once nominated, he had no further care in this world; for had he not talents for the political or revenue departments, he was always fitted for the sacred office of a judge. And were he not fitted for that even, it was of little consequence—he could always draw his monthly salary bill, and take his pension in due course. But this was not always so. In the early times of the East India Company's Government their service was at great discount with

the English public. In these early times the Directors were glad to get young men to go out, and, in order to keep them, they were held under bond and security not to abandon the service.

In these early days the East India Company were mercantile adventurers, and their servants were adventurers of all grades; yet it is a melancholy truth that these adventurous times were the times of the Company's true greatness. This was the period of true heroism, such as is sure to be brought out when great achievements may be entered upon by the enterprising and needy of the British of all classes. It was in these times of toleration of the Englishman, as a whole, and not as a clique, in India, that the Company laid the foundations and reared the structure of a great empire. It was in these times that the Hindoo learnt to respect the transcendent bravery of the British; to venerate their chieftains, and to adore the self-devotion of their followers. It was in these times that the prestige of the British arms and statesmanship attained the highest point; the result of a virtually open service. But the empire once won, and security from European intervention attained, a new era dawned in the East India Company's policy towards the British public.

With empire and security came ease, luxury, and great riches; the consequence was that the East India Company's service became extremely popular amongst British papas and mammas. The service was

run upon too eagerly, so it had to be closed against the educated public, and made a forbidden preserve, in which there must on no account be poaching. The lucid idea did not occur to the East India Company's Directors—the interested monopolizers of all patronage—to reduce the emoluments with the times, and thus increase and add to the efficiency of the staff—a measure that would have done great good, both to England and to India. No, this would have curtailed their selfish patronage. And further, the Directors amiably opined that there was no necessity for efficiency, because they had numberless faithful Sepoys, with long muskets, to prop up the old gentlemen in their misgovernment, through thick and thin, come what might. The main point with the old gentlemen was their patronage, and the next was, that the old ladies might get their sons back, as soon as possible, with pockets full of rupees. Such was the latter-day state of the case; and during this period arose a privileged class of salt-impounders, opium-collectors, and tax-gatherers of all denominations. The policy of these selfish old gentlemen of the India House perpetuated a covenant or bond long after the bond had become null—the covenant obsolete. And why were these perpetuated? Simply as a blind to the British people; simply by way of excuse for grasping the monopoly of hardware against Sheffield—of soft goods against Manchester—and wines and beers and spirits against London and Liverpool: again, for grasping the

monopoly of all honour, power, and advancement against the educated of all England. Such was the fascination of the British parliament that the sacredness of a "closed service" acted as an efficacious "blind" till the year 1858. Up to this year a small clique of Englishmen, under the semblance of an obsolete covenant, held the patronage of an empire against the worthies of all England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Although the nominees to the East India Company's Civil Service were termed in India the *privileged classes*, they were not drawn from the privileged classes of England. The selections were not confined to the nobility of the United Kingdom. In fact, though the service was closed most rigidly against all out of the limited circle of the India House, there was no exclusion of the plebeians for the sake of the patricians—no exclusion of the trades for the sake of the professions—no exclusion of the commons for the sake of the lords. In this respect the East India Company's closed service embraced a latitude profoundly levelling. Her Majesty's lieges in India had the pleasure of being governed by sons of lords and tallow-chandlers—sons of baronets and coffee-grinders—sons of knights and sempstresses. These inconsistencies were most perplexing to the unbiassed observer. Carr's mill, at Carlisle, was said to take wheat in at one end and to pour out ready-made biscuits at the other. So the East India Company's civil nomination was an equally

wonderful machine in taking raw plebeians at one door and sending them forth spurious aristocrats at the other. The rapidity with which this transmutation was effected was highly interesting. No sooner landed in India than the young hopefuls would issue forth as full-fledged "Esquires," magistrates, political envoys, and secretaries of embassies. The prestige of the Company, it was thought, supported as it was by the lean Bengal Sepoy, would cover all deficiencies of brains, blood or birth. It was naturally enough thought of the Hindoos, as they had not come to the knowledge of good and evil, they would be faithful dogs and love the masters that kicked them.

Looking at the subject from a scientific point of view, it may be said that of all the East India Company's civilians, those of the Bengal presidency in these modern times, had in the course of a century, most deteriorated from the good old English type of mankind. The causes of this were various, but the principal may be easily stated—viz., isolation from their countrymen, enervation by the climate operating during their own lives and those of their civilian fathers, and contact with a servile population. The young civilian on arriving at Calcutta was soon forwarded into the interior, to live amongst the feeble Bengalese, over whom he held powers that, in other countries, are only accorded to the tried, the sage, and the experienced. Amongst this poverty-stricken, humble, and timid people he would be shut up for

years, and they approached him as if he were a God, and addressed him as if he were a God. Such was the prostrate ignorance of the population by whom he was surrounded that their mode of address would in other countries be termed very profane. They would address the young civilian as the God-like—mighty as God. In their daily and hourly approaches to the white official, the natives would clasp their hands as if in humble prayer, and then they would fall down on the bare dust, clasping their hands over their heads, and adore the Khoda-wun (the God-like).

In a steaming, debilitating climate like this one, surrounded by an utterly demoralized population, it is not to be wondered at that the privileged son of a grocer or tallow-chandler should develop into an arrogant, narrow-minded, inflated Anglo-Bengalese. Leaving his country before his mind had been formed, what else could be expected? It is wonderful that there should be exceptions to the above species of development. I have met the Anglo-Bengalee civilian on many occasions during the twenty-five years of my residence in the Far East, and while moving about out and home, by steam and rail, in social meetings, at balls and suppers, public and private, and I have found him much the same everywhere. As a class, the Bengal civilian would be termed by his equals in general society a supercilious and unsocial being. In many ways he was glaringly peculiar, the result of isolation, want

of communication or exchange of ideas. These disadvantages under which he laboured gave him a false estimate of his own importance. He was placed so far above the population in India by whom he was surrounded, that he could have no intelligence as to their political feelings or affections. That he was fast losing his English sympathies has often been surmised by his countrymen, and if we may judge by a letter published in the London *Times* in the year 1856, by a Madras civilian, there were grounds for this surmise. This civilian threatens discontent if his salary is to remain at only 2,400*l.* per annum! Where would the autocratic officialism of India have ended had their *faithful* Sepoys not woke them out of their dreams in the succeeding year, 1857.

The events of that year drew the attention of the English public to an earnest consideration of the affairs of India—a consideration too long postponed.

CHAPTER IX.

THE UNCOVENANTED.

THIRTY years ago no Englishman had a right to put a foot on the soil of India unless he had obtained due authority from the Court of Directors, who sat in the India House, Leadenhall-street. Such persons, not being in the service of the East India Company, on going out to India, had therefore to be provided with a permit. All persons sent out by the Court of Directors, whether for civil or military employment, went out under bond or "covenant" for a term of service. Thus they were termed "covenanted servants." So that Europeans in India became divided into two classes—"covenanted" and "free," the former being servants of the East India Company, the others being in business of their own. In India a "free trader" meant the ship of a private merchant, such as of London, Liverpool, or Glasgow. A "free merchant" meant a private European settled in India. A "free settler" meant a private planter. Thus all Europeans in India were "bond" or "free;"

and contrary to usual custom, the "bond" had all the good things to themselves; the "free" were allowed to eat the crumbs from off the table only, or starve. As the empire increased, so did its call for public officials. The wives of the Home Directors could not bear sons fast enough to fill up the posts created by the spread of empire. The native army was next denuded of its best officers to fill up the blanks in civil employment, and this went on till it could scarcely be said to be officered at all. This state of matters would have alarmed any government but that of the selfish East India Company, who had august faith in the fidelity of the Bengal Sepoy, and an overweening presumption in its own prestige. But the exigencies and responsibilities of the service increased, so a dire necessity arose of employing such free settlers or private gentlemen as could be induced to give up their own engagements. These stepped forward from time to time to assist in the work of the country, whether as magistrates, police-officers, revenue-officers, or as surveyors and civil engineers. To this class the name at the head of this chapter was officially appended—not on the grounds of difference in birth, blood, education, or efficiency—but for the sake of distinction between them and *the* civil service under "bond," who were termed, *par excellence*, the privileged classes, as our time-honoured and revered nobility are termed at home.

This would appear ridiculous in England—not so

in India. A privileged postmaster was quite appropriate to the genius of the government, and so were privileged tax-gatherers, opium-superintendents, bill-drawers, and money-hoarders. It naturally came about that these privileged officials, with all power vested in their own hands, strove for a distinction where there was no difference. An attempt which involved many disagreeable concomitants to their free countrymen. Thus, while the privileged classes drew four to ten times more pay than their uncovenanted brethren, they at the same time had the greatest care taken of their health, comfort, and enjoyment at the public expense. A gouty toe would get a privileged official leave of absence from India on full pay; a gouty toe would keep him in the enjoyment of the amusements and gaiety of the metropolis of England or France, in the smiles of his friends and in the routine of fashion; a gouty toe would, in fact, do all that a noble could ask for; and a gouty toe would give him, at the end of twenty-one years, an ample pension for life, without doing a stroke of work for it. Regulations for sick-leave, on the most liberal scale, were drawn out for themselves, and duly passed by, and approved of, by their papas and uncles in power.

And, as the empire grew older, so did the civilians intermarry, and so tighten the ties of consanguinity, that no oligarchy could be more firmly seated or enduring. And it was thought that no treasure could be more secure than the moneys drawn from

the land-tax, salt-tax, and opium sales of India, which ministered to these comforts. For were they not guarded by the pet Sepoy, who, contrary to humanity of the common type, cared nothing for himself—all his care was for his master. His fidelity was a subject of surprise, wonder, and admiration.

Now the free, educated English gentleman who had entered the East India Company's service, while he was uncovenanted, was also entirely unprivileged. If he got sick, he might die in harness. His leave of absence from duty was on the most circumscribed scale; for, argued his liberal masters, if he got leave to go home, we cannot refuse the Hindoos the same grace—we must deal equally with *these two castes*. So if the uncovenanted English official got leave to go to another settlement only, his pay was docked; and if he was forced to return to his native air, he lost pay and appointment altogether; with all the extra requirements pressing on him due to his living in a climate baneful to his health, destructive to his comfort, and dangerous to his life. The East India Company had no more respect to the wants of their countrymen than if they had been the lowest native menials—to whom that same climate was enjoyment.

This policy towards Englishmen in India was the work of the Home Directors, who, having no local knowledge or sympathies, saw everything in India with the narrow view of *self-interest or family aggrandizement*. It is but justice to the heads of departments in India to state that, in many cases,

while they fully appreciated the earnest faithfulness and energetic exertions of their uncovenanted English assistants, they were debarred, by the inexorable rules of a closed service, from promoting either their interests or comforts. Prior to the year 1855 the feelings and prejudices of the Home Directors cast a dead damp on anything like liberality, or even equity, towards their free English servants.

This policy of the East India Company towards the educated English uncovenanted servant, while it lowered the position of their countrymen in the eyes of the natives, who were keen observers in all things relating to caste or rank, insensibly, I believe, led the privileged officials into a course subversive in itself of all British loyalty. As the uncovenanted English servant advanced in years and experience, so did he become the more useful and necessary. His more intimate acquaintance with the natives, their social habits and prejudices, gave him a personal influence that the high unapproachable civilian could never possess. The East India Company's men in power now began to feel that, in their dominions, there was a rising English influence, whose loyalty to their Queen and country was unimpeachable, but who might eventually interfere with their own status; so they became jealous of this influence. They made great efforts to elevate the Hindoo and Mahomedan, and to depress the prospects of their own countrymen. In this feeling the anti-English policy of the Indian

government had its origin; and, in carrying it out, high places were given to Hindoos and Mahomedans from which the educated uncovenanted English servant was excluded. The pretence being *justice to India*—a flimsy pretext, when we consider that Hindoo and Mahomedan governments came from beyond the Himalayas, as did the English from beyond the ocean. The English were voted as radical in their tendencies, dissatisfied with the crumbs from the civilian's table; so it would be better to do without them altogether, and maintain a closed system more firmly than ever. This, it was imagined, would create a Utopia. There would then be only two classes in India highly agreeable to each other; 1st, the Directors' civilian, supported in great pomp (erroneously supposed to add to power, and not to weaken it), and, 2nd, the thin-blooded, meagrely-paid Hindoo. Things would thus be made pleasant, and would secure more firmly than ever all power, honour, and wealth to the Leadenhall Directors' nominees. This climax having been attained, then, the Indian Government had arrived at the position of an overgrown closely-cemented family oligarchy—blind to reason—insensible to circumstances.

This change of policy towards the educated English uncovenanted servant had its term between the years 1840 and 1857, during which time no appointments but very subordinate ones were ever given to free Englishmen, and those who had en-

tered the service previously on the more liberal understanding, were left to languish in obscurity and neglect. This policy permeated the whole extent of the Empire, and entered into all departments. And, as years rolled on, so did this Anti-English policy increase in intensity. Conscious of gross injustice to their countrymen, the magnates of India held the free English servant as a disaffected one, and pandered to the Hindoo and Mahomedan at the expense of England's best life-blood—the young and adventurous sons of the middle classes, who had left their homes to seek a field for their enterprise. Struggling in a distant dependency of England's crown, they found that they were as aliens in a foreign land. The privileged officials sneered at them, and, with a jaundiced demi-Hindooism, held out that they were of a different *caste*. Thus they were curbed in their rising efforts in the battle of life. The events of 1857 took the Anglo-Indian oligarchy by surprise; but the English uncovenanted servants in this year showed their sterling qualities, and became more necessary than ever. I had then left India, but I have learned, from the published records, that the services of the *uncovenanted* were too conspicuous to be slurred over. Their devotion to their masters, and to the British crown, had brilliant exposition. The uncovenanted might be termed "interlopers," "mere adventurers," "not responsible," "not of the service," but it was false policy for the monopolist

at the outset, to let the educated Englishman in at all, or on any footing whatever, for his native "birthright" could not be stolen from him—his "equality" on the open field of public opinion.

By placing the educated English gentleman of the uncovenanted service on the same footing as the native Hindoo officials, no distinction was made when there was a real difference. Expunging colour, caste, and creed, from the argument, the real difference consisted in constitution of body and mind, in intellectual and moral training, energy, and national loyalty. In these, the English official could claim to be different from the Hindoo: he further brought the highest attributes of these to the service of India, at a great personal cost to himself. This cost he felt in the loss of home sympathies from friends and relatives, and in the loss of health by reason of the climate. These were real differences between native and English employés. Yet the Directors of the India House would listen to no amelioration of the condition of their countrymen under their dominion. If sick unto death, his native home was wearily sought by the loss of his all. A whole life's service went for nothing if he asked to see his beloved English home again. To attain this desire he forfeited place, pension, and all claims on his employers; and, were he to remain in India, he remained merely to die, and lay his body in the stagnant grave-yards of the fetid delta of the Ganges! Long service might secure him a pension

and relief from labour, but on one inexorable condition, that his body be palsied and his restoration hopeless. In consequence of this equal dealing with unequal conditions the English uncovenanted servant never got a pension—at least I know not a single instance in the parts with which I am familiar. It was otherwise with the Eurasian or Hindoo officials. The climate being genial to them, they lived years, long after they had obtained the medical certificate of "total uselessness and hopelessness of recovery," and so enjoyed their *otium cum dignitate*. It was otherwise with the Englishman: like the spirited horse, he died on the world's course, far, far away from father or mother, sister or brother. Such was the fate of England's mothers' sons who served the East India Company without "bond" or "covenant!"

Confining myself to the portion of India with which I was best acquainted, it cannot but be admitted that the uncovenanted Englishman bore a part which deserved better treatment. Notwithstanding the strong desire on the part of their privileged "countrymen" to depress them below a certain level, individual excellencies could not be restrained or kept out of public sight. I recollect well, shortly after the establishment of a well-known banking-house, the directors had the weakness to ape the great political Company by introducing the distinction of covenanted and uncovenanted inside their counters. But as they had no meagre Bengal

Sepoys to support their folly, they very soon abandoned the measure as unworkable.

In the wide arena of the Indian Archipelago, the founder of the first successful settlement was an English uncovenanted servant of the Indian Government. This was Francis Light, founder of Prince of Wales Island. The abortive colonies or settlements were numerous, such as Bantam, Amboyna, Bencoolen, Tappanuli, Balambangan, &c. To Francis Light, British interests have been much indebted by his successful planting of a flourishing population, from whence British commerce has extended far and near. The 40,000 inhabitants he left behind him fully appreciated his successful efforts, as testified by the beautiful cenotaph raised to his memory :—

"IN MEMORY OF
FRANCIS LIGHT, ESQ.,
WHO FIRST ESTABLISHED THIS ISLAND
AS AN ENGLISH SETTLEMENT,
AND WAS MANY YEARS GOVERNOR.
BORN IN THE COUNTY OF SUFFOLK, IN ENGLAND;
AND DIED OCTOBER 21ST, 1794.

"In his capacity as Governor,
the Settlers and Natives were greatly attached to him,
and by his Death, had to deplore the loss of
one who watched over their interests
and cares as a Father."

This is one illustrious example of force of character rising over the jealous barrier of monopoly and prejudice. Dozens of others recur to my memory; one of these was Dr. Morrison, Chinese secretary to the East India Company's Factory at Canton. What name in Oriental literature stands higher than the name of this English uncovenanted servant? From the narrow sectarian policy of the East India Company we would have thought that neither virtue nor learning were to be had out of their own narrow pale, yet the names of Horsburgh, the Hydrographer, Cary and Marshman, the Oriental scholars, rise to vindicate the status of the free Englishman.

Confining myself to a very limited portion of the East India Company's territories, viz., the locality of the settlements in the Malay archipelago, it is easy to bring forward names of uncovenanted officers which are worthy of attention and public gratitude. It was Congalton who swept the Malay waters of the Illanuns, the most formidable of pirates.* It was Dunman who first gave security to households in the settlement of Singapore, by the raising and training of an efficient police force. It was Cole-

* Hall, of the "Nemesis," was an uncovenanted servant of the East India Company when he effected his great feats in the first China war. Fortunately he at the same time belonged to a branch of the British navy, otherwise his services would not have availed him a jot. He would have died of neglect and contempt, as many others have done. His successor Wallage (a historical name in connection with the suppression of piracy in Borneo) died in harness.

man who laid out the city of Singapore in that expansive and well-arranged plan admired by all strangers. It was Simpson who led his men in the rush of a forlorn hope against a notorious stronghold of the pirates in Borneo. Were such men, who for the most part have died in harness, or have died of grief, or have saved themselves by quitting the service in disgust, "worthless Englishmen?" I think not. The *privileged class* of Indian officials was not maintained without cost and pains to their fellow-countrymen and subjects.

CHAPTER X.

MALAY GOVERNMENTS 400 YEARS AGO.

DEPARTING from the most disagreeable part of my task, I now come to another, viz., the nature of Far Eastern Governments as they were prior to the advent of Europeans. This subject must interest the inquirer, even though we have but a "glimpse." A tolerably correct notion may be arrived at on this subject, by the perusal of Malayan history. The histories themselves may be faulty by their want of dates, and their mixture of much mythical tradition, yet much is to be culled in respect to the moral and political state of the people.

The racy abstracts from the Sijara Malayu, or Malayan annals published by Mr. Braddell,* in the "Journal of the Indian Archipelago," open an easy entrance to a retrospect of bygone times with their long extinct Governments. I select one chapter as being sufficient for my purpose, it being full of characteristic notices well suited to portray the Far

* A promising Oriental scholar when I had his acquaintance some years ago.

East as it was, before it was overrun or affected by the powers of Europe.

The splendour and power ascribed to the ancient Malay empire, I believe to be exaggerated by the native historians, and they have been too readily credited by Raffles and other English writers on the Archipelago. The emperors were but merchants, and the princes were but petty dealers and pirates. This is evident on a perusal of their histories, as written by native authors. Thus in the 33rd annal the Bindahara of Malacca (hereditary high steward) is said to be fortunate in trade, and in the 19th annal it is said that "Samarluki, son of Kerayang Manchukwa, king of Balu Lui, in the country of Mangkasar (Maccassar) was sent forth by his father on a piratical expedition, which ranged from Java to Siam, and thence to Ujong Tannah (Point Romania, near Singapore). At this latter place he engaged the Malacca fleets, and was overpowered. These facts are mentioned amongst many others, which tend to prove that trading and piracy were popular pursuits amongst the princes and magnates of the native Governments from time immemorial.

In the same annals we are informed that Malacca (the seat of the Malay empire, so called), in its highest renown under Malay princes, was of equal importance with Passé and Haru (the former on the north coast of Sumatra, the latter probably there also). Now at these places there

would be the remnants of greatness, such as ruined mosques, pagodas, aqueducts, and other public works, but none are apparent. Marco Polo traversed these seas in about the year 1291,—or 172 years prior to the period I am now writing upon. In his eleventh chapter he mentions the ancient Malay settlement of Bentan, called by him Pentan, whose coast was wild and uncultivated as it is even to this present time. Proceeding thirty miles from Bentan, Marco Polo adds, "You arrive at an island in itself a kingdom, named Malaiur (an old mode of spelling Malayu) which is likewise the name of its chief city (the ancient Singapore). The people are governed by a king, and have their own peculiar language. The town is large and well built. A considerable trade is there carried on in spices and drugs, with which the place abounds. Nothing else that requires notice presents itself." Singapore was the seat of the Malay empire prior to Malacca; but this description of that most truthful Venetian does not impress us with any deep sense of its importance. The empire of Passé he does not mention at all, but he states that he resided five months in Samara (Samalanga) which is near the present Passé. Here the native prince was a powerful idolator, and he must have been a savage one, as Marco had to fortify his 2,000 men to guard them against mischief. At the time Marco Polo passed through the straits of Malacca, the town of that name—if it then had any existence—must

have been a place of no note; for he must have passed close by it, and could not have avoided seeing it. But he makes no mention of it. The seat of the Malay capital had not then been removed from Singapore. Further, Marco Polo does not notice any other city, town, or country within the borders of the Malay peninsula. In the year 1511, Malacca, in all its glory, fell before a small fleet of Portuguese manned by Europeans and Indians. The seats of Malayan Governments were at best mere *entrepôts* of trade. The Malay peninsula, though covered with luxuriant forest, is, contrary to general opinion, very barren, and could not support a large population. The staple, rice, is cultivated in small patches, and with difficulty. Consequently Malacca, Singapore, and Bentan have always been dependent upon Java, Siam, and Bengal for the food of their populations; and the principal portion of the populations have been confined to towns, supported by foreign trade, or by piracy. The interior populations have always been very inconsiderable.

With these general remarks I extract the thirty-third annal of the Sijara Malayu.*

"*Thirty-third Annal.*

"The Bindahara Sri Maharaja had a daughter named Tun Fatimah, of most excellent conduct, and exceeding beauty; but Tun Hasan, the Tomun-

* "Jour. Ind. Arch.," vol. vi., p. 46.

gong, was of equal beauty and excellence; they were celebrated in song. Tun Fatimah was betrothed to Tun Ali, son of Sri Nara de Rajah. When the time arrived for the ceremonies of marriage to be performed, the Rajah of Barah was invited to the Bindahara's house, and saw Tun Fatimah. The Rajah of Barah was uncle of Sultan Mahmed, and brother of Sultan Alaoodin, the deceased king, and when he saw the Bindahara's daughter, he asked if the king had seen her? The Bindahara answered, 'No.' Then the Rajah of Barah advised him not to marry his daughter to a person of low rank, but to wait and let the king see her, as, at that time, Malacca was without a queen, the Permeisuri of Pakang being dead, and it is the custom, under these circumstances, for the daughter of the Bindahara to become queen. The Bindahara replied: 'I am a low person. It is proper for me to mix with low people,' so he determined to carry out his project of marrying Tun Fatimah to Tun Ali.

"At the proper time the king was invited to the house of the Bindahara, that his daughter might be presented to him previous to her marriage. The king arrived and the marriage procession of Tun Ali also came. When the king saw Tun Fatimah, he was astonished at her beauty, and instantly conceived a passion for her, and at the same time was enraged at her father; saying to himself, 'What an old wretch that Pa Mutaheir is,

not to show me his daughter, who is so beautiful!' The ceremony proceeded, and the couple were married: afterwards the king went to the palace, but could not eat from love-sickness. He now sought opportunity against the Bindahara.* In due time Tun Fatimah presented her husband Tun Ali with a daughter named Tun Trang.

"There was a Kling, Rajah Mandlier, who resided at Malacca, and became shah bandar (port-master); this Kling was very rich; no one could compare with him in Malacca. One day the Bindahara asked him how much gold he had, and he answered 'Five Bahras,' on which the Bindahara said, 'Oh, if that is the case, I have a Bahra more than you.' The Bindahara was very fortunate in trade: he never lost. Sometimes he would call his children, grandchildren, &c., and give them each a handful of gold to play with. When they went out to hunt, if they were unsuccessful on their return, they would stop at the Bindahara's cattle-farm, and, killing each one a buffalo, would send a quarter to the Bindahara, who, on inquiring from whence the meat came, would be informed of the behaviour of his young kinsmen; and sometimes he used to say, 'Oh, these lads go a-hunting, and when they get nothing in the forest, they take to hunting my buffaloes!' When his slaves came into town dressed up in silk and muslin, the Bindahara would invite

* Tropical lasciviousness disappointed, and hatred beginning to burn.

them into his hall and ask who they were; on which they would inform him,—'I am so-and-so, the slave of the Bindahara, and son of so-and-so.' They were so numerous that he did not know them. One day in the palace, when waiting the appearance of the king, Rajah Mandlier addressed the Bindahara, and was repulsed by him for want of knowledge of etiquette, in attempting to salute him in that place before he had himself paid his respects to his majesty: the Kling slunk back at this rebuke.

"There was in Malacca a Kling merchant extremely rich, named Ali Menu Nayen.* All the young nobles visited him, and he was in the habit of giving them presents; but Tun Hasan, the Tomungong, did not visit him. He therefore, one day, asked Tun Hasan if he would not come to his house, that he might present him with something, as he did to all the other young nobles? Tun Hasan answered, 'Nayen, am I a base-born slave that you wish to bestow charity upon me? If I was of a different descent' (less nobly born) 'it might be as you propose.' When the young men were short of money they sometimes represented to Tun Hasan, the Tomungong, that the market-place was not regular, some of the shops jutting out, and that if the king passed that way he would be displeased; on this account they begged that he would grant

* The natives of Hindostan have always had great influence in Malay countries.

them authority to see that the line was straightened. Armed with authority, they would go to the market and levy contributions on the people under pain of having their shops pulled down, in order to make them straight.*

"There was a Kling named Nina Sura Dewan, who was the chief merchant in Malacca; he had a difference with the Rajah Mandlier, and they went to the Bindahara to settle the matter. It being late in the day, the Bindahara desired them to return in the morning. That night Nina Sura Dewan thought to himself that he ought to go and see the Bindahara, and give a present, as Rajah Mandlier was a very rich man, and if he (*i. e.* Rajah Mandlier) makes a present to the Bindahara I shall certainly lose my case. Accordingly Nina Sura went to the Bindahara, and gave him ten cutties of gold (about thirteen pounds), to buy betel with.† There was a Kling man, a relation of Nina Sura Dewan, named Kitool, who owed one cutty of gold to Rajah Mandlier. This Kitool went that night to Rajah Mandlier and informed him that Nina Sura had been with the Bindahara and presented him with ten cutties of gold, and that he was now plotting with the Bindahara to kill him (Rajah Mandlier.)‡ In return for this information the debt of one cutty of gold due to Rajah Mandlier was cancelled, and

* How would the shopkeepers of Cornhill stand this usage?

† Tropical covetousness—the father of much perfidy and injustice.

‡ Tropical treachery.

Kitool took his departure. Rajah Mandlier collected a quantity of jewels and fine clothes, and taking a bahra of gold, went and presented these things to the Lacksamana, and informed him that he knew the Bindahara meditated treason, and that he had already in his house a throne and regalia prepared, and that he intended to usurp the sovereignty.* The Lacksamana informed the King, who was glad of an opportunity to wreak his vengeance against the Bindahara, on account of his not having given him Tun Fatimah in marriage, and he at once ordered the Bindahara to be put to death by Tun Sura, and Tun Indra Sakara.† When these two, with a body of attendants, arrived at the Bindhara's house, they found all his friends in arms to resist the execution of the sentence of the King; but they were ordered by the Bindahara to go home and lay down their arms, so that they might not commit treason by resisting the commands of the King. They went away, and the Bindahara, Sri Maharaja with Sri Nara de Rajah, Tun Hasan, Tomungong and Tun Ali, the husband of Tun Fatimah, were put to death by the executioners of the King.‡

"There was also a son of Sri Nara de Rajah, named Tun Hamza, who was wounded by Miasamy, a Bengalee; but, on orders coming from the palace to

* Tropical slander, so easily credited.

† A tropical prince's hatred glows till appeased.

‡ An instance of tropical lasciviousness, covetousness, injustice, perfidy, malice, and revenge, ending in a bloody destruction of innocent victims. Have we not direful parallels of modern dates?

spare one to keep up the lineage, Tun Hamza was preserved and taken care of till he recovered. He afterwards became a great favourite of the King. After the Bindahara and Tun Ali were killed, Tun Fatimah was taken to the palace and shortly after married by the King.* All the property of the deceased Bindahara was confiscated, and on examining it, none of those insignia of royalty spoken of by Rajah Mandlier were found.

"This induced the Rajah to make fresh inquiries into the business, and the treachery of Rajah Mandlier and Kitool was fully discovered. The King having by this time repented of his cruelty to the family of the Bindahara, ordered Rajah Mandlier to be put to death, and his house to be razed to the ground. As for Kitool, he and *his whole family*† were impaled, and his house rooted up and thrown into the sea. The Lacksamana was punished for his share in the transaction.‡

"Peduka Tuam, son of Peduka Rajah, was made Bindahara. He was very old and infirm, and strenuously opposed his being appointed, as he was unfit for duty. But the King insisted, and when his presence was required at the palace, His Majesty sent and had him carried and laid down in his place. From this he acquired the name of the Bindahara Lobuk Batu. The Bindahara had a very numerous

* Unhallowed desires accomplished.

† Oriental despotism is blind to justice or compassion in the torture of its victims.

‡ He only did his duty,—why the punishment?

family, all born of one mother,* and at that time his children's grandchildren and great-grandchildren amounted to seventy-seven persons.

"Tun Fatimah was married by the King, and became Queen of Malacca, but although the King was distractedly fond of her, she refused to return his love, remained dejected and sad, with the recollection of her father and husband murdered by the King, who now in vain sought her love. Finding all his attempts to that end in vain, Sultan Mahmud became melancholy; he now deeply repented having put to death the Bindahara and his relatives,† and the recollection of this deed affected him so much that he at last abdicated in favour of his son, Rajah Ahmed, and retired to Kayu Aru in the interior of Malacca, accompanied by Sang Sura alone. While there, he kept himself retired from all society.

"The new King Ahmed had no respect or regard for the chiefs and principal men of the land, but gave himself up to the society of young favourites, who were allowed to be extremely insolent, and took advantage of their position as royal favourites, greatly to the disgust of the more respectable body of the nobles."‡ Tun Fatimah was called the great queen (*Rajah perampuan besar*); but whenever she

* A very remarkable circumstance in the Far East.

† This story reminds one of David and the wife of the murdered Uriah the Hittite.

‡ Despotism has its vagaries.

became *enceinte*, she caused abortion. The Sultan Mahmud remonstrated, and she said, 'What use is there in my getting a son, as you have already a successor on the throne?' On this Sultan Mahmud promised, that if she gave birth to a son, she should succeed to the throne, and the queen from that time allowed her children to live. The first was a daughter, named Rajah Putih, followed by another, also a daughter, named Khadijah. Sultan Mahmud was at this time deeply engaged with the Makdum Saderjahan in the study of Sofyism."

The above extract will give a glimpse of what Far Eastern governments were shortly prior to the coming of the European. Do such governments deserve the support of mankind? or is a miserable bloody despotism an august thing to be renovated and admired? They were rotten to their very core —so fell on the first attack.

CHAPTER XI.

MALAY GOVERNMENTS AT THIS PRESENT TIME.

A CHAPTER giving a glimpse of native governments as they are will not, I hope, prove unacceptable to the reader. Fortunately we have the written record of a native of intelligence, and whose testimony is unquestionable. A glimpse will show how far native governments have advanced or retrogressed. The record is by Abdulla bin Abdulkader, so often quoted in this book, which I have translated from his Malay manuscript. From what I personally know of the Malay Governments of Perak, Salangore, Pahang and Keddah, the general tenor of Abdulla's remarks are correct.

"CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS IN ABDULLA'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

"As I had now completed my personal history, I sat pondering, and the reflection crossed my mind, that I was now forty-six years of age, and that during this span of life I had been witness to numberless great events and mutations in this world.

I had also experience of customs, and states of things that had not even been seen or heard of by my ancestors. All these had been seen by me. Out of these ponderings many ideas came pressing on my mind, but amongst them I was most oppressed with the thoughts of the condition of the Malays. For their interests have ever been the nearest to my heart. But when I considered their condition, manners, and conduct, as well as their habits, as observed from my infancy up to my present age, and when I reflected upon them, I was forced to the conclusion that, as regards the Malayan race, their foolishness increases with their age. And when I endeavoured to search out the cause of this, there appeared amongst many reasons one great cause above all—to wit—*their unhappy condition is owing to the injustice and oppression of their own princes:* they overwhelm their subjects. Truly the hearts of their subjects are like unto ground, whose fertility is abstracted, which prevents them from initiating a single good work of any account, whether in literature, science, or practice; but they vegetate like trees in the midst of a forest, which fall by every blast. Tis thus they fall. Moreover it is their nature to be under the government of strange peoples: they are like small fishes, which are food merely for the larger.*

* Abdulla's expansive education beyond his countrymen is here apparent. He aspires to native independence of European control. He mistakes cause for effect; he forgets that princes emanate from, and

"Now as I have spoken of the injustice and oppression of the governments of native princes, I must explain that these have their origin in a fixed sentiment on their part, which tends to debase their subjects, and which prompts them to treat them as brute beasts. Thus it happens when a subject meets a prince, he must sit on the ground whether it be clean or filthy. Also should a prince covet the daughter of a subject, or the betrothed of a subject, or any property or valuable of a subject, he appropriates them at once, without the slightest question, trouble or fear. Besides, Malay princes have neither the slightest care nor consideration for their subjects. Again, in delivering judgment in the cause of a subject, they are ruled solely by their sensual desires; those whom they love they uphold, and those whom they hate they depress. Further, however wicked or oppressive may be their sons, however domineering they may be over their people and country, they wink at their misdoings. They maintain scores and hundreds of slaves who despoil the common people, who kill men as they would kill insects. Their princes walk not with the respectable of the community, but they seek out companions of their own stamp. Now the whole of this arises from the want of science and training, in

are moulded by, the people. They are the flowers from the stalk. If the stalk be virtuous and vigorous, so will the princely flowers be. If the stalk be demoralized and vicious, the princely flowers are of the same nature. School the people, and their princes and priests *must* be virtuous.

themselves or their people; so when intelligent measures are called for, they can find no tools for the work.* Great is the wonder and astonishment of mankind at their doings—the effects of their internal dissensions—by means of which their name becomes hateful amongst all other nations.

Secondly, there is not the slightest attempt on the part of Malay princes to educate their children during their youth; but they abandon them to their own will, and to follow their own pleasure. They do not attend to their instruction either in politeness, propriety, elegance, modesty, science, arts, or anything else; but, if the child be a little son, they will look out for a little girl as a play-fellow for him; and when he has grown big, they will find a woman to be as a concubine to him.† They will now give him a kris, and the natives will give him honour, because he is a prince; and then he just does as he likes with his subjects, who are so afraid of him that they dare not say a word to him. And his father vies with him in gambling and cockfighting. If he have not money, he gets it; and if the father be an opium-smoker, so will the son be, and so it turns out that the older he grows he dives the more into debauchery. 'Tis now only that his father begins to check him. But ten fathers would

* Abbulla does not seem to be sensible of the powerful effects of climate in modelling man's mind and constitution, yet he is sensible of the prostration of his countrymen.

† Parental system of the north and south!

not now restrain him. At this period of his life he sets in flame the whole country, with its people, by the fire of his wickedness.* As the Malay proverb goes 'Fire, as it falls, should be quenched; for, if abroad, nothing can prevail against it,' or 'A small fire is a friend, but a big one an enemy.'

"Again, many Malay countries, provinces, and towns are laid waste by reason of the many sons of princes and slaves of princes. Further, the manners, customs, and ways of the Malays are different from all other races on this earth; this I state from my personal knowledge, as well as from hearsay, and also from what I have learnt of other races in as far as regards the customs of the white people, or the Klings, Arabs, Chinese, and such like. If the princes of these nations be covetous, it is to covet knowledge, understanding, and capacity; with them it is pleasurable for the parents to teach their children, and to separate them far from folly, or the very name of evil. This is done that the ways of goodness may be surely followed by all their subjects, and that they may be as an example to all their people.

"I wonder to myself how these Malay princes, having no understanding, can profess to judge their people; or how, sitting themselves in wickedness, they can presume to order their subjects to be good, or to do good? Is this not a great wonder to think

* Unconstrained despotic power is cured by nature's provisions: it is weakened by the hatred of the multitude.

that Malay princes cannot restrain their sons, leaving them to themselves, to disorder society, yet would they themselves expect to command their people? Indeed, the sons of Malay princes are as wicked fierce tigers, who, on the death of the father, rush forth and destroy God's creatures.*

"Now, of what use is a fence? Is it not to keep the plants safe from destruction? But if a fence itself destroys the plants, what is their condition? So God created princes to take care of the people, and to restrain their wickedness; but when these same princes destroy the people, what comes of it? Destruction falls on prince and people.†

"Moreover, all people under the government of Malay princes dare not lift up their heads, or enjoy themselves; nor dare they initiate any great undertaking, because all these are forbidden and *tabooed* for fear of their princes. It is forbidden to build a house of stone, or even a fine-looking wooden one. It is forbidden to build a fine boat, or even a beautiful model of one. It is forbidden to clothe in certain dresses. It is forbidden to carry an umbrella, or to wear shoes. Further, there is danger in your possessing any valuables in your house; it is only allowable for princes to possess these, not for common

* What trust there is in power and good government of the English. Here, in a Malay country, Abdulla's life would not have been safe for one hour.

† Hence the absorption of tropical governments by the energetic, brave, and virtuous northmen, who retain the same till they become enervated or disjoined from the parent stock.

people. Thus it is that the people—especially the rich—live in constant terror; and even should you lose your most valued household goods, you are fortunate if the mischief ends there, and not with the loss of your life also. They leave no way untried to punish you, or to compass your destruction. Again, if a prince wants anything from you, if you do not give it freely, your fault will be great, and should he lose it, think not of asking a return. And if you are blessed with a good-looking daughter, this is poison of the deadliest venom in Malay countries, for certainly your prince will take her as a concubine. If you present her, he will take her; but if you do not present her to him, he will have her notwithstanding. There is nothing that fires the breasts of God's creatures more than this.* And it often happens with men of strong affections that they cannot bereave themselves of their daughters; then does the prince murder the parents, and ravish the child. Such doings from their very foundation are contrary to the law of God and his prophets; they are also detested by mankind in this world. They are done at the instigation of a great being, who delights in them, to wit—the Devil; but the

* This sentence developes the cause of the frequent stabbing of Europeans in Malay villages. The native princes take as they lust, and the Malays presume that Europeans act in like manner. The fact of speaking to a woman, or a mere jest with one, which might not go further, under the above circumstances, enrages the father beyond endurance, and an attack is immediately made. The prince is beyond their attack: custom protects him.

Devil is at war with God Almighty, and so surely will the Devil and his followers come to destruction.

"Moreover, there is another subject regarding the Malays: they will not change the customs of their ancestors, either in the arts or in the sciences, and it is forbidden to innovate in any way. They have the utmost aversion to set aside old customs, however absurd. Not that they have religion to support them in this, nor does sense come out of it, but merely an accumulation of foolishness—a subject for the derision of other races. If by remaining so, no sin came of it; or if from their actions, deserts of a kindred nature did not emanate, it would be well; but, with stubborn hearts, they continue in their foolish habits as they have received them from preceding generations. This is truly absurd. Now, if it be reckoned correct to follow the customs of our forefathers of old, will it not also be correct that our grandchildren should follow ours? Then, can you take the credit to yourselves of being good men, just respecters of the law, perfect in knowledge, the various accomplishments, and such like? Well, even to your conceptions you dare not by any means take such credit; but you say we are content as we are, and so will remain in the position in which fate has placed us. Now, I have learned in the history of England that the inhabitants of that country were ten times more squalid than you are, even in your present state. They wore the skins of beasts—they lived in huts built of mud—and they painted

their hands and feet blue; their hair remained unshorn, and, by way of propitiation, they made human sacrifices to their idols. Now, from such a state as this they emerged in the course of time. Their descendants cast aside such foolish customs, and created new ones, and they have attained to the eminence in which you now see them. Now as to this eminence in a nation being foolish or wise, decide that for yourselves; and ask yourselves, is the position of the English of these modern times eminent, or is it abased? Then if you still hold that your present customs are good, and that you will not cast them aside, on this principle might the English revert to the condition above described. Let them throw off their clothes of the present fashion, let them cover themselves with the skins of wild animals, and paint their hands and feet with blue, destroy their modern-built houses, and let them live in houses of mud. Further, let them abolish their modern steam-machinery, and taking to galleys, canoes, and sampans, pitch their compasses overboard, and so confine their voyages to the sea-shores or to the rivers.

"Again, may I ask you, do you desire to remain in your squalor, so that this may descend as an inheritance to your posterity till the world's end? And dare you maintain that your present condition is such as to be a good inheritance, even for the generations of your grandchildren, whereby they may do just as yourselves? Now, when I appeal to

your good sense, you cannot by any means maintain the above, for you are conscious that it is the want of the *will* that makes you adhere to the wicked customs of your ancestors; and the real state of your mind is, that it would please you well could your posterity attain to learning, wealth, and goodness.* But if in your era you plant squalid and lazy seed, how then can learning and activity be produced? Everything returns to the nature of its source. If the seed be good, it will shoot out, and so will bad seed also.

"Moreover, if the condition of mankind be governed by God in his complete perfection—viz., in his wisdom, omniscience, and free-will—then is it not right that we should thirst after wisdom and knowledge, in order that we may be able to choose those things which emanate from wisdom, and follow them, and that we may be able to discern wickedness, and thrust it far from us? Now as to these things the Malays by no means observe them otherwise than to abase wisdom and understanding, and so follow their uncontrolled passions and the customs of their ancestors; these only they follow invariably. And when we inquire of them to this effect: 'Sirs, do you live in wretchedness? then why not learn good, and thirst after understanding?'

* Abdulla forgets the climate. It is the climate which is a barrier to all these good desires. The body has not strength to support good intentions. Ten or twenty years reduces even the active European body to a state of lethargy.

they will answer, 'What can we do? We are poor people, and have great difficulty in even gaining our bread.' This is the invariable answer. As to their poverty—no such thing: it is their *mind* that is poor. Thus they are stuck fast in their own wretchedness. And how comes the weakness of their force of mind but from want of understanding, and want of understanding arises from a dislike to study. Now, as to the above, viz., their want of thirst for learning or knowledge, what are the various causes? First, because their ancestors did not so, they will not. Second, because their princes and nobles, &c., don't do so, they won't. Thirdly, because they are ashamed of every one who adopts new habits. This is the source of their clinging to old customs, and neglecting native skill or science. This is the main cause of their present condition.* Diligent in good, as diligent in evil. Rising, but falling the more. Sharp, but the more to be blunted. Tried against the sharpening-stone, even here of no effect. In this way is their mind corroded with the rust of uselessness. On every side, to the very last, they become like unto earth, trodden over by all other nations.†

"Moreover, I am struck to my inmost soul when I behold the condition and the habits of the Malays—

* Abdulla again forgets the enervating nature of his native climate: in looking at the effects, he forgets the cause.

† There is a touching pathos here in the trained native mind, beholding the hopeless prostration of his countrymen's condition. Knowledge always aspires.

avoided by all other races in this world. The other nations of mankind do not ignore their native tongues by neglecting to uphold schools for their study. Who other than Malays do this? And forsooth, the reasonof this is because their ancestors were not accustomed to learn their own language. So, to this very day, they are averse to learning. It is astonishing that they daily speak Malay, and that they use Malay in all their wants; they send letters from one country to another in Malay, still they will not learn the language; so that one in a hundred only knows anything about their literature. If it happens so once, it is not by earnest inquiry or learning, but by mere mimicry in seeing other people. As these do, so they follow. If people ask the meaning of a term, whence derived, and the cause of its being used in such a place, they are bewildered, and are not able to reply by reason of their ignorance. They can mimic only. Now, is it right that thousands of Malays, now living, neither know how to read, write, nor cipher, and are thus the laughing-stocks of other races? Thus do men live on the Malay, both by weight and by measure. He cannot vie with them in the profession of writing and composing, or such like.

"Moreover, I have heard of numerous races in this world that have risen to power, wealth, and civilization by their accomplishments in reading and writing, as well as by their proficiency in their own

language, and their cultivating the same—to wit, the Arabs, the white people (*i.e.*, the English), the Chinese, and the Hindoos. All these honour their own tongues, and daily spread them abroad, adding thereto and improving and softening them down to these modern times. For in truth it is language that makes mankind intelligent and eminent in the arts and sciences, whereby they introduce appliances to elevate their positions, and to teach others how to do likewise. And these same attributes were implanted by God so as to develop the ingenuity hidden in man's mind. Now it follows that as a race is great, so must its language be great. For all the affairs of the world, and of the world to come, language is needed, such as the giving of names to everything; this is done by means of language, which is also requisite to secure a livelihood. Indeed, from language comes great riches, power, and honour to mankind. All these come from language.* Now, seeing that language is of such great importance to mankind in this world, and in that which is to come, is it right that you should despise it? Again I ask as to your ancestors, had they competent knowledge? And would you like to see your progeny in the condition I have described? I know well that you will say

* Abdulla was a pedagogue. He is too much given to mistake effect for cause. Refined language can only emanate from a refined and civilized people. It expands according to their wants and illimitable artificial requirements.

'No.' How great were their sins for forsaking things which were honourable and useful!

"Again let us consider the knowledge, understanding, and civilization of which our ancestors were ignorant. Is it *wrong* that these should be known to posterity? Now, let it be admitted that our ancestors were illustrious—filled with wisdom and goodness—but that their posterity are debased and ignorant. Is this as it should be, or is it shameful? If a tiger's cub were to become a cat, or a kitten to become a tiger, would this not be a great wonder? So it is with mankind. It is only by much prayer and self-examination that we can obtain blessedness. This is the primary light by which I perceive your inclinations and opinions—to wit, *your contentment with your condition;* this is the cause of your carelessness and your indifference to knowledge—to a single iota of wisdom or grace. Your idea is that of a frog sitting under a jar, its idea being that the top of the jar is the sky. But in your case very great is the wickedness of such an idea; for you are aware of your own deficiencies and foolishness, but, because of the fear of interfering with the customs of your ancestors, you still grovel in your laziness. And how true it is that you have beheld much new knowledge coming forth, and many things that are wonderful, and you have beheld men's rapid rise and progress to eminent

positions, yet even then you will not be induced to throw off the garments of sloth.*

"In conclusion, may I ask, if you are sensible of your ignorance and stupidity, when is the time to learn? It is during your youth and early years that you can make education of permanent benefit. When the tree is young, many are its shoots, leaves, and boughs; but when old, its leaves and boughs are dry and brittle. It is so with mankind. When young, man is quick at learning, for this purpose—that, when old, he may make use of it. But this is the picture of you, oh, Malays! you take neither trouble nor anxiety about your offspring, but you allow them to do as they like, whether it be in amusements, wickedness, or wallowing in the mud. Though the world moves on, they remain in the same predicament. Now in my opinion this is not the children's fault, for in this they only ape their fathers. Their fathers are born in years bygone, but are yet young at learning; and thus it ends. Like unto the poisonous tree, he that eats the fruit thereof falls sick, and so comes grief from low desires and a falling away from estimable things. Oh, I trust ye will possibly take a lesson and counsel from what I have said."

* Literally, bed-clothes (silīmūt).

CHAPTER XII.

THE MYSTERY.

I ONCE had a Hindoo krannee called Purboo—not that Purboo was his proper name, but that he was known under this *soubriquet*. His name was one of those unpronounceable philological phenomena, that no one cared to encounter the exercise necessary to address him as he ought to have been. Purboo did all the writing necessary in a considerable native establishment, and prided himself considerably on his Hindoo learning. He was deep in the knowledge of the manners and customs of his countrymen, their peculiar prejudices and antipathies, their pride of caste, their hatred of labour, their love of money, their strength of purpose at doing nothing, their immoveable power in suffering unavoidable trials and pains; their agility and spasmodic energy in shirking danger when that was avoidable, their callousness to other's misfortunes, their vanity and openness to flattery, their addiction to bribery, their want of moral courage, their subtilty, and want of candour, their faithfulness to a good paymaster,

their easy exchange of affection to a better paymaster, their love of secret excitements in lust, hatred, and revenge, their mutual distrust, their love of scandal, their temperance in eating and drinking, their cold-heartedness, their punctuality and early habits, and their sensual depravity—their many qualities, both good and bad, which make them good mercenaries to a rising cause, bad holdfasts to a failing one.

I was one day sitting in one of those idle, lazy moods which come upon one often—a mood which, having been fifteen years in the torrid zone, courted such listless amusement as involved no movement either of hand, body, or legs. I was sitting in my wicker arm-chair when Purboo presented himself with certain papers for me to sign. The papers concerned one of his countrymen, and I was thus led to the following conversation:—"Well, Purboo, your countrymen are very numerous, amounting to hundreds of millions; how many classes or castes are they divided into?" "Oh, *Sar*," said he, "*plenty caste*; I can't tell how many." "But think over the subject, and tell me how many." Purboo went to his desk and wrote out with great despatch a list of seventy-two different classes or castes in India. In doing so it was evident that he did not confine his list to the four general castes, but that he had other ideas on the subject, which were new to me. On his reading over his list I found that, besides Rajpoots and Brahmins, there

were Parsees, Portuguese, Mussulmen, and Pariahs. In fact, each race or community Purboo called a caste, and he made out a numerous list of them. Looking at his list on this principle, it was readily discovered that it was a very incomplete one, and that it might have been doubled by including the Nagas, the Tudas, the Ghoorkas, and many other tribes unknown to him, he being a native of Bombay. "Well," said I to Purboo, "how do these seventy-two castes manage to live in the same country?" He replied, "They can be friends to talk, but they cannot eat with each other." I said, "Do you mean that members of none of these castes could dine together?" He replied, "Very few, *Sar*, because they would lose caste, and their relatives would turn them out of doors." Then said I, "Purboo, you are not a nation, but a system of separate tribes, having no sympathies in common; and it is no wonder that you have come under the rule of us English." "Yes, *Sar*," replied Purboo. "Englishman very good. Suppose black man *don't* obey him, he lick him; and suppose black man *do* obey, he very good paymaster." Such were the elevated sentiments of Purboo; but his information had high imports. His private sentiments, however, might have been very different to those enunciated.

This theme so happily illustrated by Purboo leads us to take a glimpse at European governments in the East, and particularly that of my own

country, as administered by the Honourable East India Company. I am perfectly well aware that a man is but an atom in human existence, and that, his mind being bounded by the narrow limits of personal observation, he can only partially grasp what comes home to his understanding. His views are swayed by one circumstance, directed by another —it may be misdirected and contorted; but if his purpose be honest, and his pursuit the good of his fellows, atom as he may be, he is justified in attempting to catch a glimpse of so large a subject, even though it be momentary and imperfect. In viewing this subject, I must do so from my own stand-point, and my views may appear erroneous to many—absurd to not a few. We see from our own earth, and not from another's universe.

In order that I might have the kind sympathy of the reader, I have solicited him to peruse the little sketches in my first volume, and to glance at the dryer matter in my second. I would ask him now to ponder over the peculiar phases of tropical life, to consider the opponent social systems, currents of thought, and natural tendencies; then, he who has never been out of happy England will begin to surmise that English ideas, manly and virtuous as they be — are not appreciated by all races in this world; nay, further, that there is an antagonism which is hardly to be subdued or even mitigated. I would further ask my reader to consider me separated —never to return—from the regions on which I

now write, and that the sentiments expressed in this chapter are the result of observations during my wanderings over many parts of the old world amongst despotic as well as popular governments. If the reader's fortune has led him on the same track, and amongst the same fields of observation, he will then agree with me that an all-seeing and beneficent Providence has moulded the minds of men to the peculiar circumstances in which they have been placed. The savage Samang in the wilds of the Malay peninsula, the Bedouin of the deserts of Arabia, and the Bosjesman of South Africa have all one nature, and that nature gives them an overpowering love for unrestricted freedom, for which they would encounter privations, hunger, thirst, and death itself. These people are the substrata of Asiatic and African humanity. The domesticated weaver of Manchester, the laborious pitman of Durham, the monotonous file-cutter of Sheffield, have not another nature; but their minds are moulded to dull routine, their bodies are reconciled to continuous toil. Their liberty, one would think, had been forgotten. These are the substrata of English humanity—these are the enduring bases of England's grandeur and power. While the savages above mentioned are mere mud props to mushroom communities, these humble Englishmen are the iron pedestal of an almost universal influence. The humble Englishman looks on the sordid state of the free savage with a pity most profound. He

pays his pennies and his twopences to the missionary-box to do these savages good. His little children may want their cakes and lollipops that he may indulge his benign sentiments; yet the objects of his pity would sooner court death—would abandon father and mother, sister and brother, rather than be as that humble Englishman! Each judges from his own stand-point. Each judges by his own circumscribed experiences. The mind of each is moulded to his respective condition.

These are trifling things, yet, in my humble judgment, from these little germs of human sentiment grow out the mutations of races on this earth. *No nation respects another sufficiently. To be ignorant of, is to despise.* But, whatever status a nation may possess, it must originate in labour. Labour creates the means for trading: it builds ships, it weaves clothes, and it extracts iron from the earth. Intelligence puts these into profitable channels. When there is no steady labour in a tribe or nation, that tribe or nation is capable of no expansion; its existence is fragile, its course is short. The parents of such tribes and nations sell their children to slavery, their women to concubinage. They vegetate only; and, when they come in close contact with more energetic tribes, they decrease and die out. But a nation may even be laborious, yet, if not directed in its efforts by educated intelligence, it must eventually succumb to a conqueror.

On looking over a chronological map of past history, it will be seen that nations have risen here, and fallen there—sprung up at one time and declined at another. Small bands have shot out into great empires, spreading over regions like an epidemic, convulsing diseased political bodies with the poignancy of strychnine. Is there a law of nature in this? I think so. With humanity it is as with other living things on God's earth—*there is slow but constant change.* This law affects all matter, organic and inorganic, animal and vegetable. Amongst humanity, on the earth's surface, as with the elements, there are areas of stagnation and areas of activity. The basins of the Orinoco, the Amazon, the Niger, the White Nile, the Congo, the Ganges, the Irrawady, the Menan, and the Cambodia, with adjacent regions, are areas of human stagnation. Here the populations remain permanently in the lowest depths of degradation. Here the choke-damp of humanity stagnates the social system. Here do the mildew, fungi, and other excrescences of a fatal atmosphere abound. Here are lethargy, moral and physical prostration, producing deadness of feeling, out of which emanate the fungi of slavery and the mildew of polygamy; the destroyers of sacred family ties, and the weakeners of the human race.

Toward the poles humanity also dies out; but there are middle spaces where there are centres of activity, varying in space and in time with the

spread and development of races. These centres, casting a glance at past history, have been in Greece, then in Medea; now in Macedonia, then in Rome; now in Germany, then under the Atlas Mountains; now in the steppes of Tartary, then on the plains of the Peiho; now in Spain, then in Holland; now in Great Britain, then in France; now on the Potomac, then on the La Plata. These are some of the centres of activity—some of the most important. Here are the fecund nurseries of vigorous races; hence, in their appointed time, they each have overflown and spread across the earth; and now they do so, and will continue to do so. They flow, as colonizers, towards the rising and the setting sun; and, as conquerors, they spread towards the vertical sun. As rivers, these streams of humanity flow on in tortuous paths; for in their course they are obstructed by seas, mountains, and deserts; yet they flow on to their destiny. To them the mountain-passes are but gaps, the stormy oceans but accustomed pathways. The swarms from the mother-nation, in their new arenas, rise into proud empires, and exist for their appointed period. I say that east and west nations spread as colonizers. This is because these regions rear and perpetuate a hardy and virtuous people, who know how to use liberty, and to support a government in a long and honourable career. But when they spread to the torrid zone, they go as conquerors; for here the atmosphere enervates the

sojourner. A feeble and demoralized people cannot of themselves maintain a strong government, just as an incoherent, feeble pedestal will not uphold a granite column. Their conquerors, therefore, to be powerful for good—their rulers, to exist for a time—*must have never-failing resources from their parent nation.* When this resource fails, then will the tropical empire break in pieces, and dissolve into an incoherent mass of anarchy and confusion.

We now come to the question before us—are European governments, in the tropical East, exempt from the above influences? Or do they, in themselves, contain an antidote against the tendency to decay? Let us try and solve the problem in a plain and homely manner:—

Sherard Osborn, when a lad, as I was at that time, lived, like myself, amongst the Malays; and he asked a Malay's opinion of the Dutch. The Malay man, Jadee, said,—"The Hollanders have been the bane of the Malay race: no one knows the amount of villainy, the bloody cruelty of their system towards us. They drive us into our praws to escape their taxes and their laws, and then declare us to be pirates, and put us to death. There are natives in our crew, tuan (sir), of Sumatra, Java, of Banca and Borneo—ask them why they hate the Dutchman? why they would kill a Dutchman? It is because the Dutchman is a false man; not like the white man (meaning the Englishman). The Hollander stabs in the dark: he is a liar!"

This is plain. Now I also knew Jadee, the Malay; and I believe that he spoke his true feelings towards the Dutch, but that, in compliment to his young naval friend, he concealed his true feeling towards the English. In speaking to me of his own countrymen, Jadee would have said, "If you meet a tiger, a serpent, and a white man in the jungle, kill the white man first." This is a household maxim amongst the Malays, of very ancient date; for it was applied to their old Hindoo conquerors, who came from beyond the Punjaub. And why don't they kill the Englishman, but obey him? Simply for an Asiatic's reason, they are *afraid* to do so. It is fear that makes the natives of the East succumb to their European masters; and it is their lethargy that causes their obedience. The bonds between the Englishman and the Asiatic have little of love entwined with the many other cords that hold them together.

Of the East India Company's government, Englishmen and Asiatics will judge from their own stand-points, and their decisions will not be mutually complimentary. From the days of Kublai Khan, the Grand Khan of all the Tartars, and long previous to his times, Asiatic governments have considered their chief end to be to extract tribute—and their subjects give them credit for no higher motives. They are accustomed to the screw, and so have a chronic hatred to all governments whatsoever. The chief end of Asiatic governments,

like many modern European ones, was to extend their influence as far as their navies and armies could reach, the motives being the same, viz., to keep their subjects in healthy activity, and to repress internal discord. But there was one difference between the Asiatic government and the European government; the former was too rude to indulge in sentimentalism—it had no "clap-trap" oratory suited to the old maiden ladies and the peace societies, in which the cries of "good of the people," "elevation of the natives," &c., had portentous though unmeaning and impractical sounds. The objects of Asiatic governments were straightforward and blunt—they were "tribute" or "extermination." The natives of Asia understood this, and would give credit for nothing else; so Kublai Khan and his congeners were content with their tribute, so long as they could get it. The elevation of their conquered subjects would be the last thing to suggest itself. European governments, with all their pretensions, have done little more than Kublai Khan, and they are equally appreciated by the natives. This is a humiliating conclusion, but I cannot ignore personal observation, however gratifying it would be to speak otherwise. Indeed the majority of the natives of Hindostan, being in an abject state of ignorance and superstition, are accustomed to view Europeans in a more hideous manner than is generally suspected. It is the same with the natives beyond the Ganges.

I speak more particularly of those natives who know little personally of Europeans. It is those who judge of the white man by rumour, and these rumours, circulated over the evening meals, are not to his advantage. It is a weakness of Europeans to think they are loved because the natives look mild and obey. The foolish English sea-captain of my first volume, with his *faithful Chinese convicts*, is an illustration of what I mean. We have had a native's opinion of the Dutch, our Bengal Sepoys have given us a practical illustration of their opinions of their quondam honourable masters. The natives of the Philippines, though nominal Christians, are steeped in vice and superstition—so occasionally make a general massacre of all white foreigners, to propitiate their evil spirits. They and the Bengal Sepoys are propelled by the same instincts. In Cochin China the French—when few, weak, and useful—were caressed; when they had grown strong in influence, they were alternately tortured and massacred. The causes were at bottom all analogous, though differing in details. This was also the case with the Dutch at Palembang, where the natives treacherously entrapped the whole of the European settlers, and mercilessly sank them in one watery grave. The motives were analogous. The cause of the Dutch, in 1811, was a sinking one, so their temporary weakness was taken advantage of to annihilate the white man.

It will thus appear—if it has not done so before—that European governments in the East are not based on love and respect. What then? They are based simply on fear, which at times generates into a hatred so virulent that it is ever ready to burst forth with the force of an avalanche. This will take place whenever that opponent power, that sustaining element, the European arms, drawn from the distant temperate zone, may cease their perpetual flow towards the vertical sun.

It must not be overlooked that wealthy, educated, and poor ignorant natives view Europeans differently. On one point, and that is a very important one, viz., colour, their sympathies run in the same groove. The common sympathies of coloured men enlist them on great occasions against the white man; but, as long as the white man leads to victory in war, or gain in mercantile adventure, these common sympathies are obliterated for the time in their common love for loot (plunder) and wealth. Here they are apt allies, or humble instruments, to the white man. In these circumstances they are said, by the superficial observers, to be "faithful."

The wealthy natives are by self-interest bound to strong governments, from whencesoever derived; and, in a European government, they discern a power that will protect the wealth they have acquired. In a European government they also perceive a power that moves by law and that holds the life and chattels of a subject as objects of much anxiety and

great importance. These wealthy natives have not far to look around them to see the insecurity of life and property under weak, dissolute, and unprincipled Asiatic governments, under which their wealth would be a source of terror (so clearly demonstrated in the preceding chapter by Abdulla). Under these governments, if they are not able to conceal their wealth, it dissipates in the payment of the exactions of the native princes and their retainers. In their intercourse with *free* Europeans of good education and position, they cannot avoid perceiving the advantages of the true liberty they enjoy; and, above all, they will see, in the national laws and institutions brought from England, the scrupulous care bestowed on the person and privileges of the subject. This immense boon is so potent that it requires but little intelligence to appreciate it. The wealthy must appreciate it, and, in doing so, ignore their nationality and prejudices of colour, and bow to the white man's rule.

But young Hindostan is not always guided by interest and good judgment. Wealth begets power, and power begets ambition in the sons of the rich. This circumstance draws them into political intrigue. Their narrow sphere gives them but imperfect knowledge of the power of Great Britain. In India, the policy of the East India Company was to reduce the numbers of the English to the minimum. Young Hindostan could not but discern this. The English element was as a drop of oil in the sea. Added

to this, the haughty civilian, by his supercilious bearing, would crush young Hindostan's self-importance; and, worse than that, offend his vanity. Here would be humiliation, borne with apparent meekness, only to be the more nursed into gnawing hate. A revulsion of feeling takes root where respect might once have been implanted. The Southern Asiatic is a creature of passion, and he abandons all to nourish that passion, be it of love, hatred, or revenge.

The poor of the Far East, as in other countries, be they intelligent, hate all stable governments. Their chance of promotion lies in anarchy and revolution. The natives of Hindostan have a large proportion of their numbers who are both poor and intelligent, and so are a source of trouble to any government which may be over them. As long as they can be kept actively employed, their dangerous character ceases. It is in the calm times of peace that their energies for mischief are resuscitated. This class has nothing in common with the intelligent poor of Great Britain—the industrious sons of toil, the vigorous, persevering labourer, weaver, mechanic and handicraft man. The intelligent poor of the Far East hate labour, and ignore all useful pursuits. From this class was drawn the native army of Bengal.*

But there was another class of poor in the wide

* The Bombay and Madras native armies were of superior material.

East India Company's dominions which out-numbered all the rest: these were the poor of the agricultural districts, a class steeped in the most abject ignorance, and prostration of intellect. These, as a class, were of little consequence, either for good or for evil. Their sole object was to vegetate, and avoid payments to support the state. They worked with the rudest implements. Their usefulness to themselves, or to society, was reduced to the lowest limits. Through this class rumours, wonders, and superstitions floated. Their minds were the receptacles of the most improbable and monstrous fictions. In riding, at only a few miles' distance from the European stations, the approach of an Englishman spread consternation amongst whole villages of these poor people—a proof at once of those floating rumours and monstrous fictions—a proof that the East India government, as regarded the people, was but a name—a tinkling cymbal. The rumours were those of the Delhi moonshee of my first volume.

By natives thus steeped in ignorance, poverty, and superstition, the European was looked upon as a demigod—as more than human. They were astonished and overcome by the European's intelligence, energy, and prowess. *The being having these attributes, when friendly, was divine.* The poor natives would prostrate themselves before him, humbly kiss his feet, and obey his every behest. The Sandwich Islanders beheld Captain Cook with the same feelings of respect and veneration. But

extremes meet. *A being with such supernatural powers might be a devil incarnate;* and with a superstitious, ignorant multitude, it was an easy transition to regard him as such. Hence the sudden change of feeling, originating in trivial causes—hence the intense antipathies shown by the natives of India towards Europeans, which have broken out at intervals, resulting in massacres and bloody tragedies.

The rise of British power in India has had many features in it akin to the rise of Spanish power in Mexico and Peru. In both we perceive the same astonishing and rapid successes. The Spanish power had vitality for three centuries; the British power in India has just attained manhood. To the origin of British power were attached the same crude measures which are to be observed as clinging to Spanish power, the most conspicuous of which were a monopoly — inordinate gifts and privileges to adventurers, leaders or companies. Thus the King of Spain granted to Columbus one-tenth of the profits of all countries discovered by him, besides the viceroyship by land and admiralship by sea. The government of England granted the monopoly of all profits to be extracted from 150 millions of people to a company of merchant adventurers.* The government of these merchant adventurers and their successors has been a standing wonder to the uni-

* The original 101 merchant adventurers of the East India Company consisted of grocers, vintners, drapers, mercers, tailors haberdashers, cloth-workers, ironmongers, and skinners, one notary and one goldsmith.

verse. Their deeds and actions have been more generally the subject of the most fulsome panegyric or of rabid detraction. There has been no medium of sentiment. The stability of their power was often doubted by the calm inquirer, but most fervently believed in by the participators in their golden harvests.

My own humble reflection and limited observation have led me to conclude *that the East India Company's government of India was strong only so long as it was a revolutionizer*, so long as it was an overturner of effete and spent kingdoms. The destiny of the East India Company was to topple over the shaky dynasties of the East, and they concluded their term of office by the subjugation of the Punjaub on one side, and Burmah on the other. What else could have happened? A grasping, ambitious corporation, armed with sovereign powers, supported by the wealth of great Britain, maintained by the intelligence and intrepidity of her most adventurous sons, swayed human as well as mechanical engines—aided by the most improved devices for warfare and destruction! All the arts and appliances of civilization were freely at their disposal. What else could have taken place when these were let loose amongst a weak, enervated, and ignorant people? But their work was merely the work of subjugation. After more than a century's strife, they had no more hold on the country than the military resources of Great Britain—so freely

at their disposal—gave them. On the completion of their conquest, came their real troubles. They had freely made use of the elements of disorder: how were those elements to be reduced to order? Had the East India Company's power being snuffed out at this period, what would India h ve gained while under their dominion? In the words of a writer in the *Calcutta Review*, "literally nothing!" The only monuments of English occupation would have been "Bass and Allsopp's" beer bottles strewed along the banks of the Ganges!

The East India Company's government was founded on false principles. They were not true to our higher nature, and therefore could not stand. Their motives were selfish—the Asiatic allies whom they enlisted in their cause were mercenaries. Their compact ignored religion, and avoided true morality. In the olden times of the last century, the servants and officers of the Company drank and fought at the same carousal; the civilians kept harems, and the military entered the domestic circles of the Sepoys. This was a popular state of things, and quite agreeable to the manners and customs of the East. England was then far off and seldom to be returned to. Now as long as there were rich nabobs and effeminate diamond-covered rajahs to plunder, the compact between the white gentleman and the black soldier was as agreeable as it was binding—as affectionate as it was intimate. In those days the Christian missionary was interdicted, and

had to fly for an asylum to Serampore, a Danish factory. The Pagan devotee, with his immolating rites, was honoured, and maintained, that the god of lucre might shower his gifts upon the Company!

But trouble gradually grew out of this; it germinated from an obscure seedling till it rivalled the banian-tree. As things grew apace, and as generation succeeded generation, changes gradually came over the scene. Recent times found Mahomedanism curbed and Brahminism questioned in their very holy cities. The Christian missionary walked abroad over the land. But what of this? Not much, if social relations had been the same. But the white lady had now gained access. Her virtuous influence had cast the mixed social relations in the dust. The European and Hindoo now walked apart, and scanned each other from a doubting distance. *Confidence abated; mistrust began to creep into the middle space.* The white lady rode and walked abroad. The Hindoo females of respectability remained veiled, covered, and enclosed. The white lady's conduct in Hindoo estimation was unbecoming. What then was said of her in the neighbourly gossip? Return, oh reader, to the chapter in the Delhi moonshee, and you may guess. The Company's Sepoy of Plassy had now been supplanted by his grandchildren. These grandchildren recited the tales of their forefathers and extolled the deeds of Clive, and his white burra bahadoors. They com-

pared the grandchildren of these white bahadoors and found they were men and not demi-Gods. *Rightly or wrongly they maintained that the white officer had degenerated.* This, to a small degree, might have been correct; in the main it was false—the suggestion of a disaffected mind. With all these tendencies to weaken an originally unholy compact, the conquest of India, by the aid of the Bengal Sepoy, had been accomplished. The ease and idleness of profound peace gave them time to ruminate, criticise, and compare thoughts; the result of which cogitations was that they found they had *fought for the shadow, while the white man grasped the substance.* A *caste*, infinitely more honoured, powerful, and appreciated than any of their own, had risen to an unapproachable elevation above them. *Now hatred grew out of mistrust, the more bitter because it was artfully concealed, and fostered for ages.* Here were surely causes sufficient to enlist the Indian against the Englishman; here were causes sufficient to extinguish the internal dissensions of caste, religion, and trivial antipathies, and to combine the common sympathies of colour, against the foreign yoke!

In 1850 the Sepoy was observed to pass his white officer without moving a muscle—he observed all the outward signs of respect, while, in his inmost soul, the turmoil of implacable detestation consumed his very vitals. He did his routine of dull duty with one end, that new revolutionizers would spring up and lead him to other scenes

of excitement, plunder, and bloodshed. The Company's work had been done. There were other arenas beyond the *kala panee* (ocean), but to these his *caste* forbade him to go. Such were the results of an unprincipled compact, in which there were neither the sympathies of a common religion nor a common nationality. Without these two great binding powers, which on earth hold mankind together, it was natural that a merely mercenary concordance should end. Yet it was on the foundation of Sepoy fidelity that the blind old East India Company hoped to maintain and perpetuate their high privileges, in order that they might transmit them to their children and grandchildren. This was the "privileged" grocer's idea, and it came to grief.

Experience in very modern times—not to go back to the extinction of Portuguese and French influence in the East—might have taught the inquirer a lesson. How fared it with the Dutch at the end of last, and the beginning of this present century? In 1795 their out-settlements succumbed to the English; and in 1811 Java dissolved from their grasp, by the incursion of a few English and native regiments, sent from Bengal. *The Dutch, though governing Java, had no root in it.* The native elements of disorder were ready for revolution, the native leaders welcomed a change of rulers, and another yoke, that it might chance to be a less galling one. As with the English East India

Company, the stable and loyal European influence had been debarred entry—Christianity even was ignored, that Mahomedanism might not take umbrage. Had the English East India Company's government been subjected to the same trials as the Dutch, viz.,—had they been cut off from communication with Great Britain, as the other was from Holland, their sway would have fallen as the child's house built of cards—a touch would have knocked it all to pieces.

To the outward world the East India Company's government appeared to be the most gorgeous and brilliant on earth. Their brilliance was that of tinsel. Their traditional policy was to take advantage of the dissensions of Indian governments, and to maintain their power by reason of the antipathies of the native races. Were these antipathies to be permanent? Were these sources of weakness in the Hindoo to remain for ever? No. *The native differences sank as the white man's fortunes rose:* then did Mahomedan and Hindoo amalgamate in the common cause against the English intruder. The various tendencies to change and revolution climaxed in the Sepoy rebellion of 1857, which shook British power in the East to the very centre.

Had the Sepoy mutiny not precipitated the great trial of strength, there were other causes which would, sooner or later, have brought it on. It was not to be avoided. One important cause

was the gradual rise of the natives in opulence, intelligence, and consequently, in influence and power. Another important cause was, the gradual impoverishment of the British merchants and settlers, which reduced their status and position. The East India Company's policy favoured these changes, which are easily explained. Their government being superior to any native one, gave security to person and property; internal trade increased, and landed and house-property rose in value. Of these advantages the natives were almost the sole partakers; for European settlement was prohibited. *Land could not be bought nor English capital invested.* It was the same with external trade, over which a great change took place between the years 1830 and 1850. At the former period English owners and English captains were to be seen in every ship; at the latter period the owners were mostly natives, and the captains had degenerated into care-worn, badly-paid, English navigators, who had neither interest in the ship nor in the trade. The East India Company's anti-English policy opened the avenues of wealth to the Hindoo, and impoverished their own countrymen. At the latter period every country ship carrying the English flag had a native supercargo on board, who was the real captain: the English navigator had sunk to be the Indian's humble servant.

The above circumstances, coupled with the excessive care in arming and disciplining a huge native

army, would ultimately have led to revolution; for *England had not taken root in India.* Broad India, under the Company's dominion, allowed an Englishman no resting-place but a grave. He had no permanent abode, no fixture, even were he to clear the forest, or embank the sea-shore. English influence was deadened. The English, as a body politic, were a nonentity. Under the circumstances, was this a loss to India? I think so. The East India Company having conquered all the lands from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin, and from the Indus to the Tenasserim, the excitement of conquest was over: what other sphere, then, of labour and exertion for their native subjects was there to keep their state healthy, vigorous, and sound? *There were those of public works, plantations, and agriculture:* and how were these to be made available to curb the discontent of idleness, but by the introduction of British capital and intelligence? Without these new elements of healthy activity the East India Company's empire was as the dream of Nebuchadnezzar, interpreted by Daniel,—"Thou King sawest and beheld a great image. This great image, whose brightness was excellent, stood before thee, and the form thereof was terrible. This image's head was of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his belly and his thighs of brass, his legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay." The superstructure of the East India Company's empire was brilliant, but the basis was of loose, incoherent

materials, and it was only upheld by the long steel arm of Old England, stretched out over the Red Sea to support its tottering structure.

It had long been apparent to many men that the East India's Company's government was behind the times. Its men in power were mere official employés, personally interested in preventing necessary and especially radical change. They were consequently blind and intractable in upholding a traditional but long-exploded policy. An infatuation in their prestige misled them, and a total absence of familiar contact with the natives kept them in ignorance of the signs of the times. Mr. H. Russell mentions a curious fact of an old colonel of a disbanded regiment declaring his profound faith in his Sepoys, notwithstanding the horrible atrocities committed by them. There was much of the Sepoy colonel in the Company's government of India, much of that "*idiotic idiosyncrasy*" to prove how incapable they had become to rule a great dependency of England's crown. *Their unbending and uncompromising spirit disgusted both Europeans and natives.* Such a spirit, bounded by the narrow limits of self-aggrandizement, had not the all-pervading humanity and intelligence required to govern an empire composed of divers people, faiths, and tongues.

Notwithstanding all this, the East India Company's Directors, true to their narrow instincts, petitioned to be continued in power. They repre-

sented to the British Parliament "their past services and their exertions for the benefit of India." In this great tribunal of the British people there was no echo to their prayer, for the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved the following sentence in reply, a sentence fraught with great results to millions, viz., "that it was expedient to transfer the government of India to the Crown." Thus was the mysterious power that ruled the Far East extinguished; thus did a mightier power claim its prerogative, a power that is strong enough to act justly, a power high enough to act benignantly, a power expansive enough to allow of reform—equitable and judicious change.

The great mercantile corporation had finished its task. To have retained it in the national service would have been to have laid upon it greater functions, higher responsibilities than its confined intellect could grasp. These functions and responsibilities appertained to a great empire; so the governing body must needs be imbued with prescience almost divine, aspirations most noble, discernment most acute, disinterestedness universal. The close corporation blindly sought to curb the course of nature, to check the outpour of humanity over the surface of the globe, to stem the current that had begun to flow from its great modern centre in the far north, urging its course towards the vertical sun. In this attempt the mighty corporation opposed nature, but the torrent burst forth, and dire were the events that accompanied their overthrow.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ANGLO-INDIAN CONNECTION.

M'Culloch, in his "Commercial Dictionary," gives some cautious hints regarding the connection of Great Britain with India. That authority says: "Considerable obstacles were long thrown in the way of Europeans establishing themselves in India, and particularly of their acquiring or holding land. This policy was dictated by several considerations, partly by a wish to prevent the extrusion of the natives from the soil which it was supposed would be eagerly bought up by Europeans, and partly by the few, lest the latter, when scattered over the country, and released from any effectual control, should offend the prejudices of the natives, and get embroiled with them. Now, however, it seems to be the general opinion of those best acquainted with India, that but little danger is to be apprehended from these circumstances; that the few Europeans established in it as indigo-planters, &c., have contributed very materially to its improvement; and that the increase and diffusion of the English population, and their permanent settlement in the coun-

try, are at once the most likely means of spreading a knowledge of our arts and sciences, and of widening and strengthening the foundations of our ascendency. It is obvious, indeed, that the duration of our power in India must depend on a very uncertain tenure, unless we take root, as it were, in the soil, and a considerable portion of the population be attached to us by the ties of kindred, and of common interests and sympathies. In this respect we should imitate the Roman in preference to the Lacedæmonian, or Athenian policy."

This is plain common sense. Our authority continues :—" A great deal of conflicting evidence was given before the parliamentary committees in 1832 and 1833, as to the real state of the Indian army, and the degree of dependence to be placed on it. But none could have anticipated the entire, or all but entire, defection of the Bengal native army, and the bloodshed and calamities by which it has been followed. A radical change will now, no doubt, be effected in the constitution and government of the native troops kept on foot in India. But, however modified, if we wish to retain possession of the country, we must in future depend less on them and more on the European force distributed over its surface.

Two systems are open to us, on either of which we may attempt permanently to establish our power in India, viz.; first, by maintaining the laws and customs, and outwardly respecting the religious

and other prejudices of the natives; and, secondly, by vigorously labouring to subvert all these, and to effect a moral and religious revolution, by in as far as possible Anglicizing the country. We have hitherto acted on the first of these plans, and though its results have not certainly been of the most satisfactory description, it is the safest and most economical, and most in accordance with the tolerant spirit of the age; and it might in the course of centuries, if our ascendency were so far prolonged, lead to nearly the same results as the second. The latter, however, provided it were skilfully conducted, and that we were prepared to maintain a force in India adequate to suppress any disturbance that might take place, particularly at the outset of the plan, would accomplish its object in a much shorter period, and would probably be in the end the best for all parties, and more especially for the natives."

Here commercial M'Culloch is evidently out of his element. As our friend Thomas Carlyle says, we must not "reduce the infinite celestial soul of man to a kind of hay-balance. £. s. d. will not do it, and the 'sword or the faith policy' is contrary to England's genius." M'Culloch's idea of Anglicizing the natives is a very common and popular one, though crude and wayward in its effects. I have only known of one black man having been attempted to be made white, as related in my first volume. The idea emanates, on the whole, from humane sentiments, but also from not a little per-

sonal vanity and conceit. To Anglicize an Indian, as Abdulla informs us, is a process much abhorred by the subjects of the process themselves, and practisers of the art have found themselves baffled in a most perplexing manner. I have known of an engineer so intent upon M'Culloch's process that he would make the tall meagre Bengalee into an English navvy: with this view he supplied all his Coolies with wheelbarrows; but on his visiting his earthworks, he was no doubt much edified by seeing all the wheelbarrows being borne on the heads of his Indian labourers. They had not *bottom* to push the strange contrivance before them. Another engineer, bent on *Anglicizing*, had his workshops fitted up with benches, and English tools and equipments complete; but, to his surprise, he found the objects of his experiment perched on the tops of the benches, under the impression that the benches were to sit upon. To stand and push at their work was contrary to their constitution of body. They had neither *bottom* nor strength of muscle to be Englishmen.*

To Anglicize an Indian is more difficult than M'Culloch seems to have imagined: the experiments have been many in all departments—religious and profane. The labours of the missionary have been

* Again, the attempts of natives to become English at the same time take strange freaks; thus the Rajah of Borneo, in his desire to entertain his English guests in a manner suitable to their civilization, elevated our under-bed crockery to the office of soup-tureens!

thwarted—the training of the soldier has miscarried—the measures of the statesmen have been swamped. *What nature has made different, it is difficult to assimilate.* If the English themselves degenerate in the climate of India, then it would appear a hopeless process to elevate, in that climate, an Indian into an Englishman. As I have shown in my chapter on "Christian Missionaries," in regard to spiritual benefit, any real or permanent good to the temporal welfare of India must be by a constant influx of British blood—by the constant influx of the principles appertaining to well-regulated society.

Our author next touches on the advantages of India to England; and says, "The popular opinions in regard to the vast advantages derived by England from the government of India are as fallacious as can well be imagined. It is doubtful, indeed, whether its advantages compensate for its disadvantages. India never has been and never can be a field for the resort of ordinary emigrants. It has, it is true, furnished an outlet for considerable numbers of well-educated young men of the middle classes; but the fortunes of those who return to spend the evening of their days in England are far short of compensating for the outlay on themselves, and in those who die in the service. And there is but little ground to think that the legitimate trade we carry on with India is greater than it would have been had it continued subject to its native rulers; neither is it by any means improbable that the

large public debt of India will in the end have to be partially or wholly provided for by this country.

"We may flatter our vanity by dwelling on the high destiny and glory of providing for the regeneration and well-being of 180 millions of human beings; but we have yet to learn whether this be not an undertaking that is greatly beyond our means, and whether, in attempting to elevate a debased and enervated race (supposing that we really make such an attempt 12,000 miles from our shores), we may not be sapping the foundations of our own power and greatness.

"Nothing during the recent outbreak has been more extraordinary than the fact of its having failed to bring forward a single native chief of talent. In every contest the inferiority even of the best-drilled Sepoys, when brought face to face with Europeans, has been most striking. No superiority of numbers gave them a chance of success. They continue to be precisely what they were at Plassy and Assaye."

Thus in M'Culloch's opinion, a hundred years' occupation of India by the East India Company's government has not elevated the moral and physical standard of the Hindoo, and in the mutual advantages of the connection he has not much faith. Let us see what hopes there are under the new régime.

A Royal Proclamation was published by the Governor-General of India, on the 1st Nov. 1858,

and which called forth several native addresses to the Queen, expressive of their loyalty and attachment.

"In this Proclamation (see History of England by Macfarlane and Thomson) it was announced to the native princes of India that all engagements which had been made with them by the Company would be scrupulously maintained and fulfilled; that no extension of territorial possession was sought, and that no aggression upon it should be tolerated, or encroachment upon that of others sanctioned. It held itself bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bound it to all other subjects of the British empire. Upon the important subject of religion, in which the rebellion had originated, the declaration was explicit:—'Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that none be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith and observances; but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law. And we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us, that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.' It was added, that all, of whatever call or creed, are to be freely and impartially admitted to

such offices in her Majesty's service as they were qualified to hold." Who will deny that the above august sentiments were not worthy alike of the greatest sovereign in the world, and of the wide interests they affected?

Let us follow from the distance the development of events, though it be by snatches and glimpses. The first great consecutive measure (in my very humble opinion) was the mission of Wilson the financier, who died; the second, that of his successor, Laing. In this measure England did right in sending out men of solid business-habits—men whose minds were elevated by a life's training to a perception of the world-wide influences of Great Britain's politics—men who could weigh the mighty details so as to harmonize the huge jarring machinery.

A development of Mr. Laing's principles of government was drawn forth by an address to him from the merchants of Calcutta. In his reply he stated as follows:—"It is my deep conviction that the welfare of India depends mainly on the observance of three principles, which were the mainspring of the policy of Lord Canning's government during the time I had the honour of a seat in it.

"1st. That India must be governed for the good of India: in other words, that the national, moral, and intellectual improvement of the 150,000,000 of native population, and a fair regard for their national wishes, feelings, and usages, must be the primary object of Indian government.

"2nd. That the encouragement of independent European capital and enterprise—in order to open the communications, develop the resources, and cultivate the waste land of India—is of vital importance as the most powerful means of raising wages, cheapening capital, increasing exports, and generally accelerating the interior improvement of the masses of the native population.

"3rd. That these results, and generally the blessings of a good government satisfactory to India, are to be attained on one condition, viz., that the government of India should be in India. I mean in the local authorities controlled by the local governments—in the local governments controlled by the Governor-General in council—and in the Governor-General in council controlled, in large and national matters, by the English government, and not in any distant centralized bureau, whether it be in Calcutta, ruling Madras and Bombay in detail, or, still worse, 8,000 miles off, in Westminster, subjecting Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta alike to the minute supervision and influence of an authority destitute of that local experience and inaccessible to those influences of public opinion which are the first essential conditions of all good government."

Liberal, just, nay, cautious as the above noble sentiments may appear to those of Indian experience, from Mr. Laing's speech, we infer that his motives had been much traduced—his opinions much undervalued. It requires a large brain to comprehend

that the principles above enunciated are those alone bearing advantages to England as well as India. On these principles alone can the Anglo-Indian connection be lasting, binding, and amicable. Mr. Laing adds—"But the people of England do not know this; their instincts are always generous, and, even when opposed to their own interests, they are determined that wrong shall not be done to the native millions of India. Hence they are easily led by those who style themselves Indian authorities, on the strength of unmeasured denunciation of European interlopers, and professions of extreme tenderness for the native population."

Here it is apparent how early the acute mind of an English politician detected the flimsy philanthrophy of the scions of the selfish commercial oligarchy. To unbiassed and disinterested minds (such as those of Laing, the British statesman), devoted to elaborate a scheme of Anglo-Indian government, the suggestions of local experience may now be laid open, without fear of entire contempt and obscurity. *Wise men weigh even trivial matters.*

To my limited vision, it appears that as England has got India, and as great interests have grown up under the connection, *she must keep what she has got at all hazards.* Her conquests have laid on her great responsibilities, viz., the welfare of a great empire. In the meeting of these responsibilities a very prevailing sentiment in the thoughtful of the

British public is, that the natives should be elevated. The desire proceeds from most amiable motives, but the ends sought are as varied and contradictory as can be imagined. The different members of the British public judge from their own stand-points. "Bass and Allsopp" and their draymen would in their practice appear to think that the elevation of the race consisted in a good supply of ale, "Martell" in a good supply of brandy, "Hoffman" in no end of jams. The ladies of fashion, in their elevating propensities, would dress their dark sisters in the bulky crinoline—would teach them to dance the polka—to croquet with their Baboo's rich neighbour, and do no harm—like Christians. To sober-minded observers, English stimulants, whether bodily or mental, are unsuited to the tropical constitution. The phlegmatic temperament, the frigid chasteness of the north, may indulge without injury in that which to the feeble passionate creature of the tropics would be destruction. Nature has arranged human matters in this world in the order that no man can undertake to displace. *Conditions of men may be ameliorated, but not radically altered.* If the Supreme Ruler of nature has made the Indian so, it is certainly not England's mission to alter the order of nature. The work of her missionaries and politicians is to ameliorate and improve the moral and physical condition of the people. If their ambition be greater than this, their exertions will be of none effect.

Having already written of England's Christian mission, I will now confine myself to England's political mission. I will try to view the subject on its broadest basis. It is evident where two countries exist in different climates the productions of one will not be cultivable in the other; so, for the use of mankind, an interchange of products is necessary. These products may be mental or material. Then how can England and India be useful to each other? By the interchange of these products, mental and material. England has educated intelligence. It is well for India to avail herself of this, to sway her councils, to direct her commerce, her communications, her cultivations, her internal improvements. England has energy. It is well for India that she avails herself of this, to guard her borders, to develop her latent resources, and to initiate new sources of enterprise. England has overflowing capital. It is well for India to avail herself of this, to employ her starving multitudes—to increase their means and personal comforts—to raise their remuneration, and so ameliorate their condition, that they may be contented and happy with abundance of free and healthful employment. England has her iron-wares, her machinery, her ingenious contrivances for assisting labour, and increasing production. India should avail herself of all these, that her monied men and landholders may increase their incomes, and so ameliorate the condition of themselves and families.

And if India would have all these—if she sees

there is a necessity for them—then will she welcome the white man within her borders and the white woman within her precincts. For all these, to be useful, or productive of good to the millions, must be directed by the skilled energetic mind of the Englishman. India must adopt the Englishman as a countryman, and allow him to participate in the benefits which flow from his intelligence, energy, and capital. While I say countryman, I do not forget that India is not one country, but a conglomeration of divers nations, languages, and tribes, having in all cases (excepting one very unusual case) no common sympathies with each other. The rule of the Englishman is strong, insures peace, and permits the safe introduction of capital. Without this rule of the Englishman no great good work could be permanently established.

And how can India be useful to England in return? India overflows with native labour and raw produce. She can grow sugar, indigo, cotton, and other tropical products to an unlimited extent; with England's capital and intelligence, her prodigious manual-labour power would rear products essential to England's prosperity. In these industries alone will India be abundantly beneficial to England, in two ways—she will give employment to her cotton-mills, printing establishments, and manufactories in Great Britain, while she will, at the same time, give employment to the numerous intelligent youths (sons of the middle classes) in Hin-

dostan. These youths will she also require, to an unlimited extent, in her civil and military services. The Anglo-Indian connection is unbounded in its sphere of usefulness to both, if properly and judiciously made use of.

And how is this connection, so mutually beneficial, to be perpetuated? By one mode only, *by the settlement of respectable British planters in India*; they must have root in the soil, otherwise England's grasp must fail. As long as England is unperplexed by European wars, her grasp may be firm; but once the connection were broken for a time, her hold would be precarious without this internal patriotic stay. England may build strong forts all over Hindostan, she may construct railways and telegraphs, but, without those peaceful redoubts—*the planter's establishments*—she will always be "foreign" to the people, unknown to their hearths, and beyond the pale of their affections. *With a debased people, to be unknown is to be hated and abhorred.* A planter's establishment completes the link between the government and the people. The planter diffuses intelligence, gives employment, creates confidence, dissipates prejudice, and maintains respect. His many services amongst the population create an influence which it is difficult to uproot. The English planter in India must of necessity always be well affected to his Queen and country; for even let him lose his national sympathies (which I think impossible), his general intelligence would make him

aware that it is only British rule that preserves India from universal anarchy, and his own property from destruction.

The fear of the English was a bugbear to the old East India Company. This fear it has proved difficult to explode from the public mind of England. Fortunately we have both old and modern examples of the value of actual European settlement in the East Indies to appeal to. We have the example of the old Dutch landholders of the ancient territory of Malacca, and the modern example of the English landholders of Ceylon and Penang. Being personally well acquainted with the history of all these, and personally experienced in the same, I can speak to *the strong influence for good which these landholders have exercised upon the relations of the natives with their European governments*—in their valuable support of peace and order, and their unwavering loyalty to the European powers. This was most remarkably exemplified by the country-born Dutch proprietors of the territory of Malacca on several very trying occasions. Nor was there ever a more peaceful or easily-governed country in the world than the population under their influence. Ceylon has been a highly peaceful and easily-governed territory since European planters had access to it. The contrary was the case previous to this. It is clearly the interest of both England and India that the European element should be introduced.

The mode of tenure should be *freehold*; without

this there would be little heart in the work. The system of settling should be under judicious control and arrangement. What is called in the Colonies the "spotting" system—that is, selection before survey—should be most rigidly refused. This system would inevitably lead to difficulties and law disputes. All lands should be surveyed and marked on the ground prior to sale, and the acreage of sections should be limited, so as to prevent too much straggling. But these suggestions are out of place, as the principle of European settlement once admitted, local circumstances must direct the details.

CHAPTER XIV.

SERVICE REFORM.

When the Directors of the East India Company's government possessed the patronage of the *closed service*, it was not uncommon to see a grocer's or vintner's son of precocious years enjoying his 2,000*l.* to 5,000*l.* sterling per annum. When I was in India, the members of this delectable *closed service* might number 800 individuals, whose salaries ranged from 1,000*l.* to 10,000*l.* sterling per annum. A scion of this service, even before he did anything, was maintained, at public expense, with an allowance of 350*l.* per annum. Twenty years ago I have met some of these privileged government employés who did not know when to sound their *h*'s; but Haileybury remedied this. This was the greatest service that Haileybury performed for India: without much chance of controversion, it might be asserted that the services of 3,200 well-educated and respectable Englishmen could have been commanded for the annual amount disbursed to these Indian employés. Thus the closed service perpetrated

not only a gross injustice to India, but there was a great loss in the system to the papas and mammas of all England, Scotland, and Ireland.

During the continuance of the closed civil service India may be truly said to have been "occupied" as Paris was by the allies; but it was not governed. In the civil government of India, the necessity for European agency was a crying necessity, but the *closed service* ate up all the funds that might have procured this. At length, as a prop to the privileges of the closed civil service, the native army was denuded of its European officers; it became disorganized, and we all know the results.

A *closed service* having been deemed by the home authorities good for India, it was difficult to remove the hallucination; and, though Haileybury was condemned, and its tenants disbanded, yet a *closed service* had traditions connected with it. It had the mouldering prestige of half a century to retard the warning of its repute. The new régime, abhorring radical changes, hit upon a new expedient which it was thought would meet all difficulties. By this expedient it was thought that the "high tone" (supercilious?) "proud position" (vain?) of the Indian civil service would be perpetuated, while obnoxious nomineeism would be got rid of. The statesmen were to denude themselves of all influence in appointing the machinery of a government for which they are responsible, and the prizes of the service were to be restricted to the *studious book-*

worms of all England, Scotland, and Ireland. The principles on which the authorities proceeded may be profound, but certainly they are not very lucid to the more obtuse of Her Majesty's subjects. The peculiar claims of that particular class of Her Majesty's subjects called bookworms to be tax-gatherers, opium-scrapers, salt-collectors, and money-hoarders, are not very apparent. A bookworm may be a poet, and a poet may be an exciseman; (I have heard that one of Britain's most honoured poets was an exciseman); but the functions of poet and exciseman were said, by public opinion, to be irreconcilable: the real incongruity was in the pay. The exciseman of England had 60*l.* a year, the exciseman of India 6,000*l.* a year,—a reconciliation most agreeable. The real question appears to be—why are the bookworms of England the *most* deserving of all classes for 6,000*l.* a year? The answer to this question has been, that a few years' experience has proved the bookworm's superiority to the Haileybury boy's.

This *may* be very true; but, seeing that Haileybury boys were born independent of all sublunary influences, they had no stimulus to excel, neither cause for thought, nor exertion, and so might easily be surpassed by mediocrity.

The monopoly of the studious bookworms is not so new a feature in government services as one would imagine: the system is as old as the hills in Chinese political economy. This system pro-

duced the Lins and the Yeos, whose refined and philanthropic views were exhibited in the agreeable pastime of cutting off 1000 heads per diem. It is not above five or six years ago that the government of the close monopoly of India climaxed in similar measures. One would have thought that we had had enough of monopoly to have avoided the monopoly of the bookworm.

But great governments proceed with reform cautiously, and by degrees, so we accept the change as one step in the right direction,—a change from the privileged dolt to the privileged bookworm. But we humbly opine that, in principle, they are the same, and their tendencies are to one end. The system elevates bookworms into a *caste*, which is obnoxious to the first principles of British social economy. The system has neither the nobility of birth nor of intelligence to recommend it. *It merely perpetuates the Great Indian evil.* It introduces *caste* prejudices amongst equals in birth and education. A young man may be distinguished in many honourable professions without being a bookworm. Young Englishmen of spirit can never brook the haughty, supercilious tone induced by the caste institution in the companion of his school days. *Caste* is an institution abhorrent to all English freemen. When the good sense of old England is brought to bear on the question, the institution must give way to sounder principles of official promotion. Youths may be studious book-

worms, without being either intelligent or judicious. A youth may stand *cramming* better than his neighbour, and yet be as stupid as a crammed turkey. The crammed bookworm may not grow into the virtuous persevering upright man, then why assign to him the monopoly of all wealth, power, and honour?

"But," say the supporters of Anglo-Indian caste, "to whom *can* we assign the enormous Indian patronage?" There would be objections, for several reasons which will not be gone into here, against handing this over to the ministers of the Crown. We have often heard this question asked in India, and would reply to it by saying, "if England be not honest enough to dispense this patronage, then give it to the different local governments of India; and, above all, to make the patronage less destructive to the dispensers, let England part with her sons at their market value, in which case the misdirection of patronage need not be feared. The government of India is too much centralized. Create more local governments; these might then be safely trusted with the selection of their servants at market rates. England would lose nothing by this reform; for if India is to be held, it must be well governed. So the more of British energy and intelligence you can spare to her, the more secure will be your influence. The principle being admitted, details will arrange themselves.

India, under the closed system of government, was overgrown with *old-fogyism*, stale routine, and *sacred* exclusion. This should give place to a new order of things, which would admit of trained and experienced men in their various callings and professions, being engaged for particular services as required. The cry against "interlopers" should be put down as un-English, as illiberal, and behind the age. In exercising this discretion, the local councils would not act without necessity, nor call for home-agency when they had competent men at hand. The time-honoured idea that the old spent man, the oldest servant, the man longest under the enervating influences of climate, should have the highest emoluments ought to be exploded, and fresh talent should be engaged where public interest requires it. While we suggest this infringement on service privileges, we would, at the same time, urge a liberal dealing with the youths and gentlemen of the various services, in giving them facilities for visiting Europe, for the purpose of improving their experience, and widening the area of their observation. This, if taken advantage of by themselves, would place them in possession of acquirements superior to exterior aid, and qualify them for the higher and more responsible duties of their departments. It is between the ages of twenty and thirty that a man either makes or undoes himself—it is during this time that his peculiar talents or deficiencies develop themselves, so his promotion

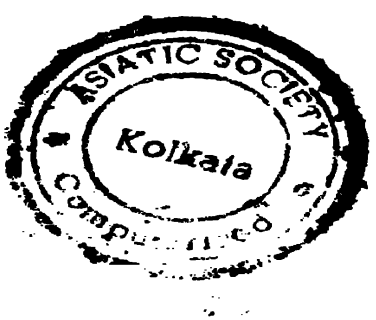
to the higher grade should depend on the exertions of this period of life. Under the East India Company's system a *bad penny*, once nominated, rose in spite of himself. This was a real injustice to India. The engagements of young men for the civil service should not bind the state in this manner; but the higher grades should only be attainable by *fitness and qualifications*. The patronage of the higher step should fairly be placed in the hands of the local councils under certain regulations.

In regard to native officials the Queen's Proclamation is most distinct; by that Proclamation all races and creeds are to be freely and impartially admitted to such offices in Her Majesty's service as they are qualified to hold. This is just, liberal, plain, and noble. The black man may qualify himself to hold any office. There is to be no distinction of colour. Very good. True in principle. Just in every sense. The debased, the sensual, the idle, the effeminate, the habitual liar, are, by the Queen's Proclamation, not to be admitted; but the elevated, the virtuous, the active, the energetic and the truthful, *are* to be admitted. On these common grounds Englishmen and Indians are to be on the same terms. These principles are to be ignored by neither one nor the other. What do European parents in India do with their children? They send them at a tender age away from India that they may not inhale the vices and weaknesses brought on by the climate. So must the solicitous

Indian parent do if he would wish his children to possess the qualifications necessary to take advantage of the Queen's Proclamation. Without this sacrifice his children can never rise and compete with the white man in obtaining positions of responsibility. His children must be sent to a cold climate, to be reared amongst an energetic and vigorous people, whom he will learn to imitate, and so equal or excel. So qualified, the son of an Indian may justly claim the privileges granted by Her Majesty's Proclamation. An Indian, so reared, may possess all the qualities of the white man, whether in energy, intelligence, or uprightness; and possessing these, his affection to our Sovereign Lady's empire need not be doubted. All intelligent men must see that the good government of India is necessary to England. This being admitted, then these results will follow—the knowledge of a true religion will surely be imparted to our fellow-subjects of the Far East; a pure morality will be exemplified; a benign influence will grow, surely, though by slow degrees.

This will go on until England's decline—and may that be far, far hence—in future ages!

LONDON: PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET, AND CHARING CROSS.


ASIATIC SOCIETY
Kolkata